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# THE EAST & THE WEST

*A Quarterly Review for the Study of Missions*

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Vol. 5.

April, 1907.

No. 18.

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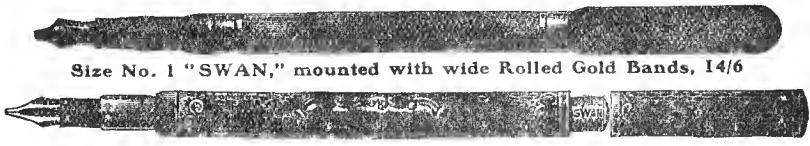
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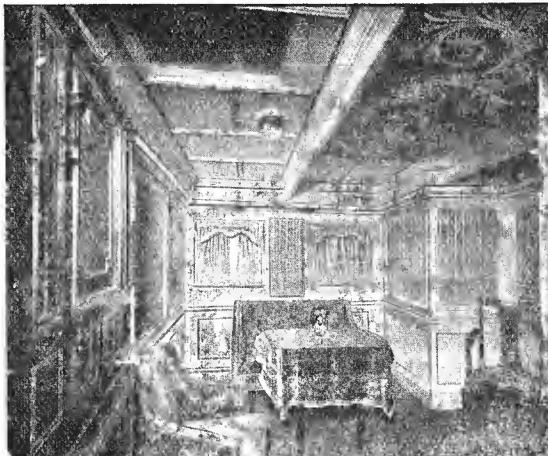
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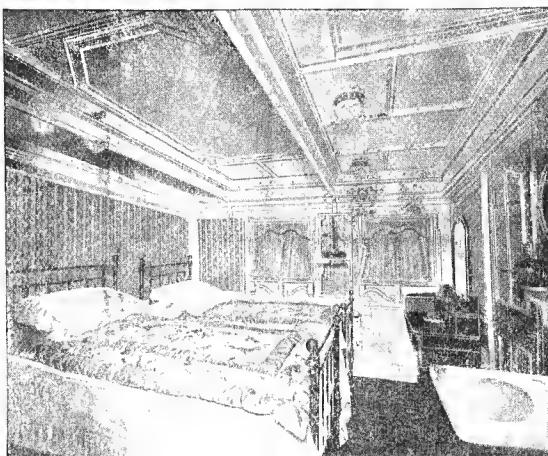
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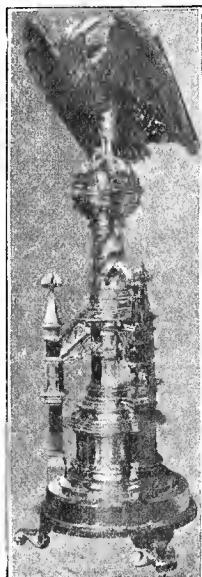
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# The East and The West

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APRIL 1907

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## CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CHINA AND JAPAN.

I HAVE not the advantage of being able to write about mission work in Eastern countries from the standpoint of one who has taken a personal share in it, and what I have to say on the subject is as a layman to laymen, but a layman who has passed more than half of his life in parts of the world which are peopled by non-Christians. During the past eleven years, first at Tokio and afterwards at Peking, I have been placed in a specially favourable position for seeing and hearing what was being done, not only by English missionaries, but by those of other nationalities both in China and Japan. Moreover, I have had the privilege of counting many of them among my personal friends.

What I have to say, then, about missions, though it may have a wider application, will refer in the main to missions at work in China and Japan. I propose to begin by discussing *some popular objections to missions*, and then to refer to the valuable work accomplished by missionaries, passing on afterwards to what appear to me the principal difficulties encountered in the spread of Christianity, particularly in the two countries mentioned—to the progress made and the prospects for the future.

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NOTE.—Readers of this Review are reminded that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, under whose auspices it is published, is not prepared to endorse the particular views expressed by the several contributors to its pages.

People are apt to speak of missionaries without making any distinctions, as if they were one body. In regard to this point, it seems to me worth while to endeavour to clear up what is a common misconception. First of all, there is the division into what, for the sake of convenience in classification, I must be allowed to call the Protestant and the Roman Catholic missions. The latter are mostly French, though in China there are also Germans, Belgians, Italians and Spaniards.

The Protestant missions are chiefly English or American (I omit some other nationalities which do not work on an extended scale), and there is a further division of these into missions of the Church of England and those of the Non-conformist bodies. The Church Missions are chiefly supported by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts and the Church Missionary Society. The others are connected with the English and American Congregationalists (known as the London Mission and the American Board Mission), the Scotch, Irish, Canadian and American Presbyterians, English and American Baptists, and English and American Methodists. There are also very many smaller bodies represented in the mission field; and in China there is the great China Inland Mission which may be described as undenominational. It is the largest missionary body at present working in China, and its members number 800 to 900 persons of both sexes. There are also here and there individual missionaries affiliated to no religious body, who have felt a personal call to evangelise these countries, and are in many instances self-supporting. The Roman Catholics and the various Protestant missions have never been willing to partition heathen countries among themselves, so as to prevent overlapping, but, on the contrary, the different societies establish their missions wherever they find it convenient or desirable. When we have realised this great diversity of missionary agencies, all working side by side, often in the same place, we are brought face to face with what is perhaps the *commonest objection to missionary work*. Put briefly it is as follows:

“The great diversity of missionary agencies must result in a religious chaos, and therefore we ought to wait until we

are all united before undertaking missionary work." There are not wanting critics who suggest that the presence in one locality of several missions professing different forms of Christianity must be very perplexing to the native inquirer. In practice, however, it does not often happen that any serious inconvenience arises, except in certain parts of China where hereditary feuds exist among the peasants, and adherents of the opposing parties happen to come under the influence of Protestant and Roman Catholic missions respectively. In such cases friction arises from time to time between Christians belonging to different missions, and scandal results. I do not think that our missionaries are much to blame in this matter, but I know of localities where the most perfect harmony exists between the foreign missionaries, and where there is a mutual avoidance of interference with each other's converts. That the co-existence of numerous schools of Christianity in one place really operates to prevent conversions seems to me hard to believe. Does the existence of at least twenty recognised denominations in England outside the Church deter anyone from joining whatever religious body appeals most to him? Instances occur of Englishmen and English-women being brought up without any religious belief whatever, who yet on attaining the age of discretion come voluntarily to be baptized. Evidently the multiplicity of sects has no effect on them, and it is inconceivable that the existence of differences of ceremonial in worship, or even in doctrinal teaching, should frighten away anyone from inquiring into the truth of Christianity. If any pagan should allege that he sincerely desired to be a Christian, but could not take the decisive step because he was confronted with so many rival claims to his obedience, I should seriously doubt his good faith, and remind him that though in his own country there were many sects of Buddhists, divided from each other by feelings of the bitterest intolerance, that state of things did not prevent men from belonging to one or the other sect. I conclude, therefore, that the allegation that diversity of forms of worship or even of doctrine, in itself, keeps men away from joining any specific church has no foundation at all.

The *second objection* I would notice is that based on the

indifference to missions shown by the foreign mercantile communities, who are, it is supposed, in a peculiarly good position to judge fairly of missionary work. It is, perhaps, true that nowhere is the absence of sympathy and support more conspicuous than among the foreign commercial communities settled in heathen countries. This may be explained in the following way : The man of business takes up his abode there for another motive than the missionary. His object is to acquire a livelihood for himself, perhaps to make a fortune that will eventually enable him to return to his own country—a very natural and legitimate motive, to which no blame can be attached, but still a self-regarding motive. I do not wish to suggest that the foreign merchant is animated exclusively by selfish motives. I am merely describing his object in residing abroad. The object of the missionary is of an opposite kind. He chooses what is often a life of privation and discomfort in a trying climate, nay, even of danger, in order to bring to the people among whom he elects to pass the best years of his life the blessings of religion, which, in his eyes, are the greatest prize this world can offer, and to spend himself for their spiritual, social, moral, and intellectual elevation. That is to say, he is not thinking of his own comfort or worldly advantage, but is devoting himself to the good of others. Between two classes of men whose presence in the country is due to such opposite aims and objects, how can sympathy be expected to exist? As a rule, they are naturally antagonistic. I need only mention their attitude towards the opium trade in China as an example. It is true that some of the best men among the foreign mercantile community have always condemned it, and have refused to touch that branch of commerce. But these are few in number, while the missionaries, who are daily brought into contact with the people and are able to see the effect produced by opium smoking, are unanimous in demanding that the trade shall be suppressed.

My answer then to this objection is that the foreign merchant is not, as such, a good judge of missionary work, because he is naturally out of sympathy with it. He is there from an entirely distinct motive, his mode of life is very different—for he is well-to-do and missionaries are

poor—and he is apt to resent disorder which interferes with peaceful trade, and to regard the missionaries as its cause.

The *third objection* I have met with is this. There are persons who assert that the religion of the country is the best for the natives of it, because it forms a part of their daily life, and is bound up with all their social traditions and institutions, and that to disturb their belief by endeavouring to make Christians of them is to do them an injury. They ask what would be our attitude towards a Confucianist or a Buddhist who should preach in the streets of our cities and try to make proselytes? Should we not offer the most strenuous opposition, and would not the inevitable and natural consequence be mob-violence directed against the Asiatic foreigner who attacked our cherished beliefs? Sometimes these arguments may be heard even from those who are regular in attendance at their own Christian services, and, it is to be hoped, sincerely believe their own religion. To these it may be answered that Christianity is not the exclusive right of Western nations, but is intended for all mankind, and they may be asked whether the native who is a sincere Christian is not a better man than the pagan, even though the latter may live up to his light. I think that they will find it difficult to deny the superiority of the Christian.

*Another plausible contention* that is sometimes urged is the great expenditure of the missionary societies. "Why was this waste of the ointment made? For it might have been sold for more than three hundred pence, and have been given to the poor." So calculations are brought forward to show that to make one Christian involves an expenditure of hundreds, perhaps thousands of pounds. Such calculations it is difficult to follow. But what sincere Christian would place his belief in the scales against a sum of money, however large? Would he part with it for the wealth of the Indies? Will he give it up for life itself? Will he not rather say that the soul of one man is of greater value than the whole annual revenue of the British Empire, because the infinite and the finite are not commensurable in his arithmetic?

The *last objection* I wish to meet is also a very common

one, especially among those who live in our large cities. It is argued that we should not undertake to spread Christianity abroad while there is yet so much to be accomplished at home. No doubt it is a lamentable fact that in all classes of society there are very many who do not profess to regard themselves as Christians, but it can hardly be said that they have had no opportunities, and that religion has not been preached among them. It is true that there remains much to be done before every man is brought to acknowledge his own need of religion. Everyone must confess that he still falls far short of what he ought to become. But at least he has had an opportunity, and surely this is all we have a right to claim for ourselves. If we were to lay down a rule that Christianity must not be preached to heathen nations until the whole population of the British Isles is radically converted, all the missionary work of the past two hundred years must be condemned. But if, as I hold, no man can claim more than the opportunity of embracing the Gospel, the objection falls to the ground. And let us remember that to refrain from establishing missions to the heathen would be a direct disregard of our Lord's commands to His disciples to go and teach all nations, and to preach the Gospel to every creature.

I have tried to deal with some common objections to missions. Let me turn to a pleasanter topic, their results, and consequently their justification. Looking back over the last fifty years in Japan, and the last seventy in China, must it not be admitted by every candid man that those countries are indebted chiefly to missionaries for every form of real improvement, to the introduction of a more elevated morality, to the practice of charity, to the establishment of schools, colleges and hospitals? What benefits but those of a material nature have been conferred on them by other foreigners who have resided among them? Do we really think that railways and telegraphs, or armies and navies, are as great benefits to a country as those I have alluded to? If we do, is there no danger that our commercial interests have warped our judgment?

Let me dwell somewhat more in detail on the great benefits which have accrued from Christian missions. I

pass over for the moment, but I do not under-estimate, the greatest of all—the benefit of Christian truth and the Gospel of our Redemption.

There is, first, the introduction of *medical missions*, the alleviation of physical suffering. Last February a new hospital and medical school, supported by English contributions and staffed by English and American medical missionaries, was opened at Peking. This great boon is the crown of the medical mission work done in Peking for the past forty odd years, since Dr. Lockhart of the London Missionary Society first opened his hospital there in 1862. The same work has been developed all over China, while in Japan the venerable Dr. Hepburn, an American missionary, opened his first dispensary at Kanagawa as far back as 1859, and missionary doctors have paved the way for the wonderful spread of medical knowledge that we are familiar with in the Japan of to-day.

Secondly, take the subject of *education*. The existing educational system in Japan, which a high authority has pronounced to be superior to our own, was initiated by a well-known American missionary, Dr. Verbeck, in the early seventies. In China the first English dictionaries, phrase-books and grammars for facilitating the acquisition of the difficult language of that country were the work of Dr. Morrison, Dr. Medhurst and other missionaries, while in Japan the pioneers in this branch of knowledge were three American missionaries, Mr. Liggins, Dr. Hepburn and Dr. Samuel Browne. It was from missionaries that the Japanese received their first notions of constitutional government and personal liberty. In China the association for the translation of foreign works on history and science was organised by missionaries. Go where you will in that country, in every large centre you will find a school that has been started by missionaries. I am justified therefore in stating that the real good which the peoples of Japan and China have derived from their intercourse with foreigners has mainly been conferred on them by the exertions of the missionaries.

But what about *direct results of evangelistic work?*

A question that I have often heard asked is whether any progress is being made in the conversion of heathen

nations. Let me take China first. I answer that in China there is real if not rapid progress. I am inclined to think that the Buddhism of China and Japan may possibly prepare men's minds in some degree for the reception of Christianity, even if Confucianism robs it of its full effect. For the far Eastern form of Buddhism teaches self-renunciation, not however entirely for the sake of self, which appears to be a characteristic of primitive Buddhism elsewhere. There is a doctrine of a future state of bliss or misery, and it is told of Buddha that he was willing to renounce bliss for himself on condition that he might save others. On the other hand, the influence of Confucianism is not so favourable to Christianity. The philosophy of Confucius and his followers concerns itself exclusively with the regulation of social and political conduct, and professes to know nothing about the supernatural. It may be summed up in the virtues of goodness, charity, propriety, wisdom and good faith, and takes a concrete form in the duties of subjects to their sovereign, of obedience of children to their parents, and of a wife to her husband, of the respect to be shown by a younger to an elder brother, and of fidelity among friends. In China it is the second of these which overshadows all the rest, and lies at the base of what is usually spoken of as "ancestor worship." It must frankly be admitted that filial piety appears to be more of a living sentiment amongst the Chinese than it perhaps is with ourselves. But the doctrine of "filial piety" in China is often pushed to exaggeration, and the correlative duty of parents to their children is scarcely mentioned. It may fairly be said that the whole of Chinese moral teaching is concentrated in this doctrine of unquestioning obedience to parents. The virtues of truth, honesty and purity of life do not seem to be much insisted on, and self-sacrifice for others than parents is relegated to the background. That there are excellent people among the Chinese, charitable men who found schools and orphanages, I am quite ready to admit, but they are the exception, and what appeals to the Chinese mind as an aim to be pursued with unswerving devotion is the accumulation of worldly goods. To such a people a religion of self-sacrifice for the good of others—such as Christianity is—is not likely to appeal strongly as furnishing a rule of life. It is

in this respect then that I am led to regard the influence of Confucianism as antagonistic to Christianity.

But there is in China one other very real hindrance to the progress of Christianity. I do not think that there is any hostility to Christianity as such. Buddhism is a religion of foreign origin, and so is Mohammedanism, which counts many adherents, especially in the north and northwest of China. As the late Lord Salisbury said at a meeting of the S.P.G. some years ago, religion ought not to rely on the arm of the flesh to support its propaganda, and St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, was not followed by a squadron of gunboats. But foreign governments cannot allow their countrymen to be murdered in the exercise of a ministry which is secured to them as a treaty right. The main objection of the Chinese to Christianity is this, that it is under foreign protection. The so-called positive philosophy, or the religion of humanity of Auguste Comte, or the philosophy of the late Mr. Herbert Spencer, would be equally regarded as foes of Confucianism, if propagated under the same conditions. In spite of these difficulties, however, there is no doubt that progress is being made. I am not in possession of statistics, but the information I have derived from missionaries in whose accuracy of statement I have complete confidence, shows that the numbers of converts are constantly growing, and that too in an increasing ratio. The reproach so often made that these are of the class stigmatised as "rice-Christians" is rebutted by the fact of the multiplication of chapels and preaching stations, especially in the south, which are largely supported from funds contributed by native Christians. It is also to be hoped that the awakening of China to the merits of Western civilisation, which is evidenced by the Commission sent to foreign countries last year for the purpose of studying foreign methods of government and administration, will have the effect of inducing the Chinese people and their rulers to look with greater friendliness on the religion professed by the leading nations of the world, which has so profoundly modified the character of nations that were little better than savage barbarians at a time when China had already attained to a high standard of civilisation.

If the tenacity with which the Chinese hold by their

ancient traditions and rules of morality makes it difficult to win them over to the creed of Christ, the same characteristic ensures that when once converted they will not easily be induced to deny their religion. This was shown in 1900, when thousands of them in the northern provinces laid down their lives rather than purchase immunity from persecution by burning incense to idols.

I come now to Japan, a country and nation famous in the annals of the Church. The people were the delight of the first Europeans who came in contact with them, capable of rising to the highest degree of self-abnegation, courteous, generous, enterprising, proud, fond of knowledge and glory, endowed with the keenest intelligence and the liveliest artistic feeling. Such the Japanese were three and a half centuries ago ; such they are to-day, for national characteristics have a permanence that surprises us when we read the descriptions of early travellers.

The great apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier, one of the founders of the Society of Jesus, was the first Christian missionary to land in Japan. He commenced his apostolate in 1549, laboured in various provinces for two years with extraordinary success, and then embarked for China. He died, however, without being able to set his foot on the shore of the promised land. His successors in Japan, for nearly fifty years, had the field to themselves. They founded colleges, built churches, translated manuals of devotion such as the "Imitation of Christ," composed catechisms and religious treatises, and laboured unceasingly and with great success to spread the Christian faith. After the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal in 1580, leave was also obtained by the Spanish Franciscans, Augustinians and Dominicans of Manila to send their missionaries to Japan. They had not been long at work when a sanguinary persecution broke out, and a company of twenty-six, consisting of missionaries and converts, were put to death at Nagasaki by crucifixion early in 1597. From that date onwards the rulers of the country unrelentingly pursued the missionaries and their converts, until, about 1640, of nine hundred thousand native Christians estimated to have been brought into the fold, not one was believed to be left.

Yet, in spite of persecution and rigorous measures of repression, a small and faithful band still continued to practise their religion in secret, handing down from generation to generation the rite of baptism, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the main elements of the teaching they had received. At last, in 1865, a few years after the chief ports had been thrown open to foreign residence and commerce, some of them were discovered visiting the recently erected Roman Catholic Church at Nagasaki. Further search was made, until some five thousand were detected. These unfortunate people were torn away from their homes and exiled to the bleak northern coast, in spite of friendly remonstrances from the foreign ministers. But the comparative mildness of the measures adopted, as compared with the earlier persecution, was evidence that the newly established government was not intolerant at heart. In a few years an entire change came about. The denunciatory edicts against Christianity placarded in every village during the previous two and a quarter centuries were removed, the exiles were allowed to return to their homes, and it became known that in future no one need fear to profess Christianity. The few missionaries who had resided at the ports since 1859 were joined by others, and they soon began to reap the fruits of their labours in the baptism of converts. The year 1873 may be regarded as the active commencement of the modern evangelisation of Japan. In somewhat over thirty years the number of converts who have joined the various churches is reckoned at over 150,000. This includes 54,000 Roman Catholics, and somewhat over 28,000 members of the Russian Orthodox Church. I am quoting from the statistics of 1904, compiled by the Rev. Dr. D. C. Greene of the American Board Mission, who adds that these numbers represent a community of fully 450,000—that is, about one per cent. of the total population. He takes the annual increase at ten per cent. This is a growth that is very encouraging, and compares not unfavourably with what we are told of the numbers attained during the earlier period of which I have spoken. Progress during these years has not been at a uniform rate. For instance, after the successful war with China in 1894-5,

there seemed to be an ebb in the tide, which may be ascribed to the great commercial and manufacturing expansion that followed on the payment by China of a war indemnity of nearly £40,000,000 sterling. This is not very surprising. When the mind of a nation is mainly occupied with schemes for the accumulation of material riches, it is not likely to spare much thought for spiritual things. Since then the Japanese people have been engaged in a far more formidable struggle with a powerful military nation. A great demand has been made upon them for sacrifices of every kind, to which they have willingly submitted ; for the lives of their nearest and dearest ; the sacrifice of ease and comfort accompanied by a heavy burden of taxation ; nor has the conclusion of peace brought any money into the national coffers. All this has induced a frame of mind more favourable to the reception of religious influences. Already I am told by one missionary in Tokio that he finds it necessary to double the accommodation in the church which he built less than ten years ago, and that is not the only instance of the kind that has come to my knowledge. I feel convinced in my own mind that the outlook is promising, and that if we cannot look forward to a period when Christianity will be officially recognised as the religion of the whole people, there is yet every reason to hope that, before many years have passed, Japan will have become in fact a Christian country.

What may be the general character of the difficulties which missionaries encounter in the conversion of different races, I am naturally not in a position to say. But, looking at the question from a layman's point of view, I am disposed to believe that the conditions are much more favourable in Japan than elsewhere. Fortunately for both Japan and foreign Powers the old treaties of commerce contained no clause stipulating freedom for missionaries to teach, nor for converts to practise the Christian religion. There was no right of interference on behalf of converts, no virtual protectorate of missions, and no attacks on missionaries ever took place in modern times. The constitution promulgated in 1889 accords complete religious liberty. Buddhism has been disestablished and disendowed, while Shinto, even if in a certain restricted sense it may be spoken of as a State

religion, is not taught in the schools. More than that, the fact that a man has become a Christian involves no social disadvantage and is no bar to high office in the State. I have also heard it stated, and I regard it as highly probable, that, other things being equal, a Christian is preferred for positions of trust. There is no prejudice against Christianity on the ground of its being a foreign religion, but, on the contrary, it is widely recognised as the source from which all social improvement and elevation of the people may be hoped for. It may safely be said that the Japanese people are as well prepared to accept Christianity as any non-converted nation ever was, and that their ultimate conversion will be more genuine than that of nations who have submitted to be baptized because their rulers willed it. This is a wonderful change in the attitude of a whole nation to have taken place in less than fifty years—more marvellous to my mind than the military skill which they have developed and of which the world has had recent proofs.

If it be asked to what causes this favourable disposition is due, I should be inclined to assign it mainly to the co-operation of two factors. In the first place, the Japanese form of civilisation found by St. Francis Xavier and his successors in the sixteenth century, and by the modern pioneers of missionary work in the nineteenth, was not indigenous. It all came from abroad, that is from China, and found ready acceptance because it was recognised as meeting an urgent want. Constitutional forms, legal codes, religion, social philosophy, arts and manufactures, even methods of agriculture were imported from China, and with them the Japanese people were contented as long as they knew of nothing better. But when they were brought into contact with Europe, a disposition at once showed itself to cast off the old and to adopt the new, because it was at the same time the better. Nothing is more noteworthy about the Japanese than their capacity for discerning what is good and applicable to their own circumstances, whether in the region of the concrete or in that of ideas. It is not always necessary that the new idea should be pressed on them from without; let them come in contact with it and they absorb it with rapidity. Their mental receptivity in this respect is quite remarkable.

A second factor to my mind is the capacity for self-devotion which characterises the Japanese people as a whole. In former times—that is to say, during the feudal period that lasted in Japan down to our own days—the followers of the great barons among whom the country was divided regarded it as their first duty to be ready on all occasions to lay down their lives for their feudal lords. The pursuit of wealth was held to be unworthy of a gentleman, and they often lived in a condition bordering on poverty. Nothing could exceed the simplicity of their lives. Their houses were almost bare of furniture, their food and clothing were of the plainest, and the only kind of property on which they expended their small economies was the swords which they wore for the defence of their lord's honour and their own. After the revolution of 1868, when the feudal system was abolished with the voluntary consent of the great barons, this sentiment of loyalty was transferred to the sovereign, who was brought forth from the seclusion in which his predecessors had remained for eight hundred years or more, and placed again at the head of the State. The code of the poor gentleman was also the ideal standard of conduct for the common people, who were brought up in the traditions of the ancient warrior heroes. It was this feeling of devotion to the sovereign that animated the breasts of the Japanese soldiers in the late war, and impelled them to fight with such heroic self-sacrifice. To die for his Emperor and for his country is regarded by a good Japanese as the highest and first duty of a man. He has in him the true spirit of a soldier and a gentleman. Self-sacrifice for a noble cause is the ideal which he has always before him, and he is ready to accomplish that sacrifice without the prospect or hope of reward here or hereafter. Such a character I cannot but think affords the best basis on which the Christian life can be built up, for it is in essential harmony with that of the Christian who devotes himself to the service of his Master and to that of his fellow-man.

ERNEST SATOW.

The substance of this article was given by Sir E. Satow as an address at Birmingham.

## POLYGAMY AND CHRISTIANITY IN SOUTH AFRICA.

AMONG the many difficulties which the South African Church in her missionary capacity has to confront, polygamy holds a foremost place. In almost every one of our ten dioceses it meets us in a greater or lesser degree ; for there is not one of the nine dioceses on the mainland where the Church has no work among the Bântu. It is not, of course, the case that every heathen Kafir (this unfortunate term may be adopted for convenience sake) is a polygamist ; a very large number nowadays are not so. Dudley Kidd, in his "Essential Kafir" (p. 398), gives the number of polygamists as reputed to be "3 per cent. in the Transkei, and 11 per cent. in other districts." It is also true that polygamy is on the decrease. On this point the South African Native Affairs Commission (1903-5) writes as follows (p. 57) :

" Polygamy generally is on the decrease throughout South Africa ; this is due amongst other things to the increased cost of living, the loss of cattle, and the consequent increase of the difficulties in obtaining 'lobolo' consideration, and the increase in the proportion of men marrying."

On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the ordinary Kafir is extremely conservative, and a great slave to custom ; that polygamy is an old-standing institution ; and that the women, on the whole, are in favour of it partly because it lessens the labours of the individual wife, partly because it seems to confer a certain dignity. We must, therefore, be prepared for its continuance for many years to come.

As missionaries have always recognised, and as the Commission again points out, polygamy in itself consti-

tutes a great barrier to the acceptance of Christianity. This is only to be expected ; and there is no need to dwell upon that which everyone can see for himself at a glance.

Probably, however, few people give a thought to the numerous difficulties that arise in connection with polygamy with reference not only to the polygamists themselves, but also to their wives ; difficulties which call for an accurate knowledge of native life and custom, which ramify in various directions, and to the solution of which Christianity is only gradually feeling its way.

The Lambeth Conference of 1888 dealt with certain broad aspects of the subject in its Resolution 5, which ran as follows :

"(A) That it is the opinion of this Conference that persons living in polygamy be not admitted to baptism, but that they be accepted as candidates and kept under Christian instruction until such time as they shall be in a position to accept the law of Christ."

(Carried by 83 votes to 21.)

"(B) That the wives of polygamists may, in the opinion of this Conference, be admitted in some cases to baptism, but that it must be left to the local authorities of the Church to decide under what circumstances they may be baptized."

(Carried by 54 votes to 34.)

In our own province the Provincial Missionary Conference (which is not a legislative body) in 1892 passed the following resolution on this subject :

"That this Conference desires respectfully to call the attention of the House of Bishops to Resolution V. (b) of the Lambeth Conference on the baptism of the wives of polygamists, and requests them to promulgate a uniform rule for the guidance of the clergy of the province."

Accordingly, in 1893, the Episcopal Synod took the matter into consideration, and resolved that—

"The wife of a polygamist, not allowed by her husband to leave him, may not be admitted to the Catechumenate or to Holy Baptism without the special sanction of the Bishop, after he shall have fully considered the circumstances in each individual case."

The Bishops had already, in 1883, dealt with the particular point which is covered by the Lambeth Conference,

Resolution 5 (A), and decided that "No man still living as a polygamist can be admitted to Baptism or to the grade of Catechumen."

We may sum up, then, so far, as follows : Polygamists, as such, cannot pass beyond the status of Hearers. Wives of polygamists, not allowed by the husband to leave them, may not be admitted as Catechumens or baptized unless the Bishop approves. Such approval may not be given *en bloc*, but each separate case is to receive full treatment from the Bishop.

All this, as far as it goes, is simple and straightforward enough, but we are still only on the threshold of the subject. Now the polygamist, and afterwards his wife, becomes the centre of a group of questions, on the answer to which must depend the course of action that is to be adopted.

We have seen that the man living in polygamy is not to be admitted to baptism. But we believe that baptism is "generally necessary to salvation." The obvious conclusion would seem to be that the polygamist is to be encouraged to free himself from his position in order that he may by the sacrament of Holy Baptism become a member of Christ.

That is probably the line that would be adopted by an earnest young missionary, when he came out fresh from home, if he were left solely to his own unaided guidance. But would such a course be really right? Would it be fair to all the parties who will be affected by the action? How far is the hardship involved, a necessary taking up of the cross of Christ, which presses heavily upon him who bears it, and also unavoidably casts its shadow upon others? May it not, perhaps, be the case that to dismiss the wives is to do evil that good may come? That their repudiation means the casting off of real responsibilities by which the man is bound, and which he has no right to lay aside?

It is not, of course, contended that the marriage of a heathen polygamist, effected in native fashion, carries all the force of the Christian union. The South African bishops, in 1883, expressed their mind on that point quite clearly. "A previous native marriage-union or contract," they say, "is not of so close or binding a character as that

of Christian marriage, and need be no bar to a Christian marriage with another person after conversion, provided all previous legal obligations have been fully discharged." The last clause requires to be particularly noted, for it is full of significance.

At this stage it will be well to refer back again to the Resolution (A) of the Lambeth Conference. The words, "until such time as they shall be in a position to accept the law of Christ," are indefinite and ambiguous, and admit of more than one explanation. Do they mean simply, "Until the man is ready to accept for himself the hardship and self-sacrifice involved in putting away his wives, with all that such action may entail upon himself"? Or do they mean, "Until he has fully discharged all the obligations which belong to the marriages that he has already contracted"? Or do they point to the possibility that God alone can free him from those obligations, and that until such time as he is so freed by the death or the voluntary withdrawal of his wives, he must remain unbaptized?

Our own Provincial Missionary Conference of 1895 passed a resolution on the subject of polygamy which begins with these significant words :

"That this Conference is of opinion that great caution should be exercised in giving counsel to polygamists who are seeking for admission into the Christian Society."

It must be remembered that marriage among the Kafirs is something very real; a matter of form and ceremony with its own rites and customs; it is not infrequently accompanied with genuine affection; and it entails definite responsibilities. It may conceivably be the case that in dealing with a polygamist we ought to take the line which Bishop Smythies (hypothetically) indicated to his Synod in 1884:

"The only thing we can do is to bid him to wait till God makes a way, consoling ourselves with the thought that God is not a machine, that He is not tied even to the means which He has Himself appointed, that He can, when He will, and as He will, unite people to His Church, and that we can with the utmost confidence leave such a case to His Fatherly goodness."

Let us imagine the case of a Kafir with three wives, on whom the Holy Spirit has worked so powerfully that he is filled with an earnest desire to receive the sacrament of Holy Baptism, and is ready to make any personal sacrifice, however hard it may be. He has lived with his wives for years, and he loves them dearly ; but he is prepared to let them go. The children are very dear to him, and he needs the boys to look after the stock, and he hoped to get cattle later on for the girls ; but if the repudiated wives—still heathen, and not in the least understanding their husband's extraordinary action—refuse to go unless they can take their children with them, he will give up children as well as wives. He paid cattle for his wives years ago—well, the sacrifice shall be complete, he will not ask for the cattle back again. It is not merely that he is sure that such a request would be useless, for it is through his own doing that the wives are to return home, and not through their fault ; but he takes the loss of all as part of the cross that he has to carry. It is probable that his action will offend the relations and friends of his wives ; but Christ must come before any earthly friends. He is prepared to make provision for the maintenance of the wives that he is going to put away—that is to say, that he is ready to strip himself on every side. It may well be the case that all this *personal* sacrifice and loss is only right. But the question still remains, Has the man any right to do all this ? Is he not putting away real responsibilities and genuine obligations if he sends his wives and children away ? Surely mere maintenance does not satisfy all the obligations of marriage and parentage. And now he is beginning to understand, as he never understood before, something of what these responsibilities really mean. He is very anxious that the wives and children should themselves be brought to know Christ. Will a repudiation of duties, and a banishment of wives and children to their original heathen homes, be likely to recommend Christianity to them ? Would not such action rather be an actual shock to the heathen conscience ?

This last suggestion may strike the reader as far-fetched and unreasonable. But it is a fact that many experts, both in Cape Colony and Natal, not only in the

Church of the Province, but also in the Dutch Reformed Church, consider that such action would be a real shock to the heathen conscience.

To resume. If the man puts away his wives, what will become of them? They would almost certainly return to their parents; but "in purely heathen society" (so wrote Bishop Callaway to me, twenty-two years ago) "they would be regarded as women suffering grievous wrong, and the husband as a wrong-doer." What is much more important to notice is this, that there is a strong body of opinion which asserts they would be tempted to sin.

Personally, I have never been able to adopt this view, nor was it a view taken by Bishop Callaway, who had more than thirty years' experience of Zulu and Kafir life. The women would be under no obligation to remain single, and there would be, to my mind, very little doubt that they would marry. At the same time it is impossible to ignore the opinion of many of our own missionaries, as well as those of the Rhenish and Moravian Societies, that they would be tempted to sin. If this view be correct, can it be right, we may ask, for the husband to put them away?

I knew one case of a polygamist who solved the difficulty by ceasing to live with his second wife, although she still remained in his immediate neighbourhood with her children and lived under her former husband's protection. It was a position, obviously, of great temptation, and although in this particular case no evil resulted from it, the course of action was not one that could be held up for imitation.

It can, then, hardly be a matter of surprise if one shrinks from encouraging polygamists to put away their wives. On this point there is, however, a great diversity of opinion. The question is at once so interesting and so important that I will quote from two letters (never published) written by Bishop Callaway on the subject. In one he says:

"My judgment is that (i) polygamists should not be baptized; (ii) that they have no right to repudiate their wives, one or more, without legal cause, until they have fulfilled all legal and moral obligations incurred by their marriage with several wives."

In the second, written two months later (*i.e.* May 1884), he goes more into details :

" The polygamist, then, or the Church for him, has to consider (i) how he can quit his state of sinful living ; (ii) how he can fulfil the legal and moral obligations to his polygamic household. You see it is not a question that he can decide by himself. If it were a question of personal feeling, or of interest of a strictly personal character, which affects him alone, I take it the Christian faith would require him and give him strength to be able to deny himself, whether he was required to put away one wife or ten. But I do not think that the faith of Christ would require or allow him to repudiate whatever obligations he had previously incurred ; I do not think he has any right to claim that he must, with the object of entering into a state of salvation himself by baptism, and so ensure his own safety, ignore all his past ; and so possibly run the risk of ensuring the present suffering and final loss of *others*. Unless he can free himself in a right and orderly way, and with consent of other parties concerned, his wife (or wives), their children and her relations, from all his legal obligations to them, which are to be fixed and determined by civil courts, I conceive he must remain unbaptized. . . . Both he and the Church have to choose between *two evils* : the repudiation of legal and moral obligations, and the non-observing of the Sacrament of baptism, which in this case really means not to admit an unfit person—one bound by the consequences of the sin of his past life—into the family of God."

Some few years ago, the Missionary Conference of the Diocese of Grahamstown appointed a committee to consider certain questions submitted by the Episcopal Synod on the subject of polygamy. This committee consisted of nine native and two white clergy. The answer to the question, 'Is a polygamist to be encouraged to free himself from his polygamy, or should he be told that he must wait for baptism until such time as God frees him from his polygamous connections ?' was as follows :

" A polygamist is to be encouraged to free himself in view of his reception of Holy Baptism, as soon as possible, by providing for his wives whom he puts away, and when he has satisfied the missionary on this point, as well as of the sincerity of his motive, he may offer himself for Baptism, and be baptized with the approval of the Bishop."

It is a little surprising, after one has read this answer, to find the same committee asserting that the repudiated

wives "would be exposed to temptation." In Natal at the same time our European missionaries were, with one exception, unanimous in holding that the polygamist should wait till God frees him; but the native missionaries there were of opinion that he should be encouraged to free himself. In the diocese of St. John's (so a friend writes to me) "in practice" they "are now very cautious in recommending a polygamist convert to put away his wives on account of the great danger to the latter, and" they "rather urge such a convert to be patient and to wait for Baptism until all such danger is at an end." The missionaries of the Dutch Reformed Church in Nyasaland wrote, some three years ago, that the polygamist "is not encouraged to free himself for diverse reasons. No polygamist, however, may be baptized, as long as he lives in polygamy." I suspect that it would be true to say that most European missionaries of experience in South Africa would not encourage the polygamist to free himself; while most native missionaries would take the opposite line. In both Western Equatorial Africa and Mombasa, the view is taken, apparently, that the polygamist should wait until he is free.

But supposing that this question has been satisfactorily settled, and that the polygamist believes that his way is clear to put away his wives without foregoing any of his responsibilities, then a further question at once arises: may he put away *all* his wives, and marry another? Or must he retain *one*? If so, which one? The "great wife"? If the great wife, must she be retained *in any case*, supposing e.g. that she is past the age of bearing, or that she remains heathen, while some other wife becomes Christian?

I can now do little more than indicate the complexity of the questions that arise, and the very varying answers that are given to them in different parts of Africa.

On the whole, as far as our information goes (unfortunately it is distinctly limited) the general feeling in the Church of the Province is in favour of the retention of the "great wife," at any rate if she have not reached a certain age. The Wesleyans and the Dutch Reformed Church take the same view. The Presbyterians say that all wives

must be put away, except the first. Probably in giving this answer they were thinking of ordinary families, not related to the chief. Here the first wife is usually, if not always, the great wife. In the chief's families the great wife is seldom, if ever, the first wife.

To explain the phrase which I have just used, "if she have not reached a certain age," I will quote again from Bishop Callaway :

" When the eldest son marries, and his mother ceases to bear children, she becomes a member of his household ; she leaves her husband's kraal, and practically ceases to be his wife, but still regards him as her head, to whom she owes service and duty, for the eldest son's household and kraal are subordinate to the father during his life, and his mother is an honoured member of it, whilst the father takes a young wife, who lives with him in his kraal.'

The Native Conference in St. John's diocese in 1885 was of opinion that if the chief wife was no longer living with her husband, "some preference might be given to the wife adopted into the chief wife's house (*igadi*)."<sup>1</sup> If the great wife be not retained, the general opinion is that the man may retain whichever wife he wishes to select. On the question whether a wife may herself forgo her claims to be retained, opinion is again divided.

We may now leave the man, and think of what is to be done in case the wives, heathen when they were married by Kafir custom to this heathen man, afterwards become converted. Are they to be *encouraged* to leave their husband ? May they, while still living with their husband, be baptized ? This latter question, again, breaks up into several. Is a wife who finds herself in this position eligible for baptism only if she be not allowed to leave her husband ? or may she be baptized if she voluntarily remain with him ? May any wife be baptized, or is it only the "great wife" who may be admitted to that sacrament ?

During the last twenty or thirty years, opinion in the South African Church has somewhat altered, on the whole, not only with reference to encouraging the wives to leave their husband, but also in regard to the baptism of the

wives. What Bishop Callaway taught is plainly indicated in his Life (p. 145) :

"The woman is in a different position from the man. . . . The sin of polygamy is his, not hers ; she has no power over her position. If, then, one of the wives of a polygamic family becomes a convert, she may be baptized and admitted in due time to all the privileges of Church membership. By allowing this the Church of this day would be acting on the same principle as the early Church, when it made it canonical to admit a concubine to baptism and to Holy Communion, she still living in concubinage. I do not think the Church ought to admit that her husband or friends have any right to stand between her and her God. We leave them legal power over her person, until she can be legally freed from their authority, whilst we demand for her spiritual freedom. . . . I can see no reason why a converted woman may not use all the means of obtaining a separation from her polygamic husband open to her by the law and public opinion of the people."

Accordingly in the Canons, Rules and Regulations of St. John's diocese, in 1885, we find (x. 4)

"A woman living in a state of compulsory polygamy shall be recommended to persevere in all right efforts to obtain her liberty ; but her involuntary mode of life shall not be allowed to debar her from Christian privileges ; if the missionary is satisfied of the sincerity of her professions, she may be admitted to Holy Baptism."

In 1888 this section 4 no longer appears ; if my memory serves me aright, it was omitted because it had not synodical but only episcopal authority, and could not therefore rightly appear in the place among the Acts of Synod. But one may fairly conclude that the Synod of that diocese does not recommend that wives should be encouraged to leave their husband because, although this clause had come before it, nothing similar is found in the present Act of Synod, which runs as follows (as regards the wives) : "The wife of a polygamist, if not allowed by her husband to separate from him, may be baptized, and continue to live with him."

In the Bloemfontein diocese at the Sacred Synod in 1877 a report on missions was adopted which stated :

"The clergy, so far as experience among the Bechuana is concerned, have, therefore, hitherto admitted to baptism the first wife

of a polygamist on her conversion to Christianity, without requiring her to leave her husband. In case of the conversion of an inferior wife, the clergy have refused baptism until the severance of marital connection between her and her husband had been accomplished."

In the Sacred Synod of 1893 a Resolution was passed to the effect that the wives of a polygamist cannot ordinarily be regarded as candidates for baptism, although there may be exceptional cases.

In the diocese of Zululand in 1883 the following Episcopal Injunction was given. "The wife of a polygamist not allowed by her husband to leave him may be baptized with the consent of the Bishop." In the third session of Synod in 1887 a very wide Resolution was carried, that a wife, or any or all the wives of a polygamist may be admitted to baptism." Apparently this was not found to work well in practice, for in 1893, as I am informed, the then Bishop of Zululand wrote to say that they wished in that diocese to withdraw from their wider position. There is now, I learn, "no regulation" about the matter; "except that the wife of a polygamist may not be admitted to the catechumenate without the permission of the Bishop, the Provincial regulation."

Some doubt may be felt as to the fairness of the inference drawn above from the wording of the Act of the St. John's diocese. There is, however, less doubt as to the position of our missionaries in the dioceses of Grahamstown and Natal in this matter. When the question, "Are the wives of a polygamist to be *encouraged* to leave their husband?" was submitted to the Grahamstown Missionary Conference Committee, the answer was emphatic, "No, certainly not." In Natal, the European missionaries, with one exception, were unanimous in thinking that the wives should not be encouraged to leave the husband: one European and two native missionaries taking the other view. Dutch Reformed, Rhenish and Moravian missionaries all hold that they should not be encouraged to take such a step. Speaking for myself, I can hardly doubt that this view is right. The woman clearly has responsibilities, and although one might possibly be right in urging separation from the husband (who has his other wives) has one any

right to come between the mother and her children ? The bond which unites a Kafir mother to the children is a very real one ; and in the case of a separation of this nature, the children would almost certainly remain with the father. That is to say, that they would lose their mother, and the Christian influence which she would be desirous to bring to bear upon them. Can it be right to urge a course which involves such results ?

It will have been noted that, in considering the position of the wives, some such clause as "if not allowed by her husband to leave him" constantly recurs in the decisions arrived at by different bodies. This is only natural ; one can quite understand a distinction being drawn between one who is genuinely anxious to free herself from a certain condition of life, but is authoritatively and forcibly prevented from doing so, and one who deliberately remains in that condition although she might escape from it. It may, however, be doubted whether it is in reality right to draw such a distinction if the woman remains with the husband solely from a sense of responsibility and duty, because she feels bound by the obligations which she has already contracted. She is not, in such a case, shrinking from any personal sacrifice, or allowing herself to be overmastered by passion, but she believes herself to be morally bound, morally under constraint, to remain where she is.

It has been taken for granted that there really is such a thing as "compulsory polygamy." I believe that there is ; on the other hand, I recollect hearing a missionary of the greatest experience say that he doubted whether it was ever really *impossible* (at least in Kafraria) for a wife to be able to leave her husband. Our Episcopal Synod has not specifically dealt with the case of a wife who deliberately remains with her polygamous husband. But it is an obvious conclusion from its Resolution of 1893 that, at the very least, such a woman could not be admitted to the catechumenate or to Holy Baptism without the consent of the Bishop, after he had fully considered the circumstances of the case. Within those limits three courses seem possible. We may say that Holy Baptism is open to all, to the great wife only, or to none.

Father Puller kindly allows me to utilise a letter which

he wrote to me on this subject in 1892, one which still represents his views. In this he says, speaking generally of the wife of a polygamist :

"The woman is a true wife, and she is married to only one husband. I cannot see why she should not be baptized. It cannot be said that, although after her baptism she is still the wife of only one man, yet she consents to his sinful polygamy. I say that polygamy in him is not a sin. She is not consenting to sin. She is neither sinning herself, nor consenting to sin."

Further on he writes :

"Although simultaneous polygamy was practically unknown (in the society which the early Church had to confront), yet owing to the prevalence of divorce consecutive polygamy was the commonest thing in the world. A man might marry twenty wives in succession, always divorcing the last before marrying the next. These twenty wives might all be alive at the same time. Only the first married would be a true wife according to Christian law. But who ever heard of a woman being refused baptism because she was the wife of a man who had divorced other wives who still survived? I don't believe that baptism was refused to such. . . . This seems very analogous to the simultaneous polygamy of the Kafirs. . . . Possibly some light might be thrown on the subject by the way in which the Church treated concubines in early times. Concubinage was recognised by the Roman law. It was not marriage. The children were "spurii." But the Church baptized concubines under certain circumstances without requiring them to give up their position."

He then quotes from the Apostolical Constitutions, viii. 32, where, in treating of those who are to be received or rejected for Holy Baptism, it is said :

"Let a concubine, who is slave to an unbeliever, and confines herself to her master alone, be received; but if she be incontinent with others, let her be rejected."

He refers also to St. Augustine, *De fide et operibus*, c. xix. :

"In the case of a concubine, if she shall make profession that she will know no other man, even though she be put away by him unto whom she is in subjection, it is with reason doubted whether she ought not to be admitted unto baptism."

It is probable that the view that wives who deliberately remained with their polygamous husband might be baptized would be adopted by several missionaries of the Church of the province, as well as by those of other communions, but this cannot be affirmed with absolute certainty, as, unfortunately, when inquiries were being made on this subject some years ago, no distinction was made between a wife's voluntary and involuntary position. At that time the Grahamstown Missionary Conference was of opinion that wives of polygamists might be baptized, while still living with their husband, with the consent of the Bishop. Five of our missionaries in Natal thought that the wives might be baptized, while three gave an unqualified negative to the question. Rhenish missionaries said that they might be baptized; but the Moravians allowed this only "if separation is impossible"—*i.e.* they would not baptize in the case that we are now considering. The former custom of our missionaries among the Bechuana finds a counterpart in the use of several other religious bodies. The rule of the Dutch Reformed Church in Nyasaland is "to baptize the head wife only." When I was inquiring into the Wesleyan practice in 1892 I was informed that "the *first* wife is not required to leave her husband," all others are required to leave before even being received "on trial as members of the Church." Eleven years later I wrote again to make further inquiries. At that time the whole question of polygamy was to be brought before the Wesleyan Conference; but unfortunately no information has reached me as to what was done. The Presbyterian use in 1892 was to refuse baptism to "all wives except the chief wife." The reason of this lies, of course, in the fact that the position of the great wife is well defined as such. Indeed, so much is this the case that I recollect at a native conference more than twenty years ago the view being put forward that Kafirs were originally monogamous, and not polygamous at all; this argument being based by the speaker (a native) solely on the position of the great wife. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the other wives are emphatically wives, and properly married in Kafir fashion; and it may fairly be doubted whether it is right to make such a distinction between

them as to admit one to Holy Baptism and not the others.

The remaining possible view is that taken by the Sacred Synod of the diocese of Bloemfontein in 1893, that the wives cannot ordinarily be regarded as candidates for baptism, although there may be exceptional cases. We should probably all agree, as Father Puller says, that "polygamy is not" [in the heathen man] "a sin," if by that be meant that it is not, *to him*, a sin. But it is in itself a sinful state; and the woman who, having her eyes opened to its nature, helps to perpetuate it (however much she may be bound to do so, in order to avoid the sin of repudiating real responsibilities), helps to perpetuate that which is *per se* wrong, and which she knows to be such. In the passage quoted from the Apostolical Constitutions a "slave" is spoken of. This would correspond to the case—not probably in reality a very common one—of the Kafir woman who is not allowed by her husband to leave him; a case already dealt with by our Episcopal Synod, and referred to the discretion of the Bishop. The position of a wife still living with her polygamous husband, of her own will, seems to be entirely different from the case contemplated by St. Augustine; and it must be remembered that, even in the circumstances which he adduces, he speaks quite doubtfully of admission to baptism.

It must be conceded that the question is a very difficult one. But I cannot help feeling that when everything has been taken into consideration, the necessity of guarding jealously the sacrament of Holy Baptism against any possible profanation (however unintentional); the need of insisting, above all in a corrupt heathen society, on the divine law of marriage, the union of one man with one woman; the fact that polygamy is in itself contrary to the will of God; the "*tutior opinio*" is to adopt the last of the three views that we have just been considering. And it must be noted that, if we take this line, we are apparently acting in accordance with the judgment of the Lambeth Conference. "That the wives of polygamists may be admitted in some cases to baptism" means, surely, that this is to be the exception, and not the rule. It is still more important to notice that this is also the practice of the rest

of the Western Church. Some fourteen years ago I was told by a Roman Catholic authority, at work in the South African mission field, that he had been told that he would "never get a *general* dispensation for baptism of such wives of polygamists," although he might "obtain very likely dispensation from case to case." As regards the eternal salvation of a woman who might, in these circumstances, die unbaptized, no one would hesitate to fall back upon the truth, "*In potestate Dei est præter sacramenta hominem salvare.*"

Circumstances have unfortunately prevented me from bringing my information as to practice up to date as fully as I could have wished to do; and I have been able to do little beyond utilising pre-existing material. Enough, however, has been written, one may hope, to serve as a rough introduction to a very complex subject, and to show some of the many difficulties which the Church has to encounter in her dealings with polygamy.

ALAN G. S. GIBSON (Bishop).

## IS HINDUISM CONDUCIVE TO UNWORLDLINESS ?

To this question it is usual to give an affirmative answer. Hinduism has much to say about the vanity of the things of time, and it is assumed that this teaching has its due effect on those who profess the Hindu faith. It is probably this rather than any other aspect of Hinduism that constitutes its main attraction in the eyes of the many in the West to whom it is an object of interest. To some extent, of course, the religions of India are studied in the same way and with the same object as those of China or of ancient Assyria. They are simply portions of the great field of knowledge, to be explored like any other portions. Yet there are many for whom Hinduism has an interest which is not found in the other religions which in our generation have been so carefully studied. In the religions of India, it is thought, there is an element of repose which is peculiarly welcome in our time. Far removed from the din of modern industrialism is the Hindu ascetic, living on the bare necessities of life, and devoting all his time to meditation on the Supreme. The cares and pleasures of the busy world are nothing to him. He has renounced them all, and hardly an echo of them reaches his retreat. We cannot all do likewise, but let us sit at the feet of such teachers and refresh our weary souls with their message ; and though we may be unable to leave the wicked world as they have done let us try to cultivate their spirit of indifference to life's vicissitudes.

Nor is it only the ascetic few who are supposed to be imbued with this spirit of superiority to worldly things. Max Müller, after pointing out that life in our cold northern climate must always be a struggle, and is thus conducive to

the development of character along the lines of activity and resourcefulness, goes on to say, "If we turn our eyes to the East, and particularly to India, where life is, or at all events was, no very severe struggle, where the climate was mild, the soil fertile, where vegetable food in small quantities sufficed to keep the body in health and strength, where the simplest hut or cave in a forest was all the shelter required, where social life never assumed the gigantic—aye, monstrous—proportions of a London or Paris, but fulfilled itself within the narrow boundaries of village communities, was it not natural there, or, if you like, was it not intended there, that another side of human nature should be developed—not the active, the combative and acquisitive, but the passive, the meditative and reflective?"<sup>1</sup>

This then is the situation as it ought to be. Climatic and other influences have developed a certain type of thought, and this in turn should so act on the people as to strengthen their natural tendency to meditativeness and repose. Yet those who come in contact with the Hindus of actual life find the situation to be very different. The passive and reflective elements are indeed to be found in large measure. The passivity of the people in face of evils like plague or cholera constitutes one of the great difficulties which the Government has to face. If people die of plague it is the will of the gods; what is the use of resisting it? They may be so far inconsistent as to flee from the infected area, but nothing will induce them to fight the disease; and when a well-meaning Government tries to enforce sanitary measures the inertia of the people makes their task a hard one. Meditativeness, too, is to be found in abundance. One is constantly surprised at the ability of people in humble life to discuss abstruse questions. Yet if we were asked to sum up in one word the life of the vast majority of the Hindus of to-day, the word would be *worldliness*. Lest in this matter I should seem to be misled by the limited nature of my own experience—for India is so large and its peoples so diverse that one hesitates to make sweeping statements—let me quote the testimony of others. A few days after I landed in India, a

<sup>1</sup> *India : What can it teach us?* p. 100.

missionary who had some experience of work in the Bombay Presidency said to me, "When you come to understand what the people whom you pass in the street are saying you will find that the main subject of conversation is rupees, annas and pies. Hinduism illustrates the truth of Christ's words, 'After all these things do the Gentiles seek.'" Some days later I found myself in the Central Provinces, and a missionary who laboured there remarked, "The Bible speaks of 'covetousness which is idolatry'; it might with equal truth have said, 'idolatry which is covetousness.'" My own lot has been cast in still a third part of India, the Madras Presidency, and ten years' work in the city and the villages, among high caste and low caste, educated and uneducated, has convinced me that what my friends in other parts said of the Hindus with whom they came in contact may with at least equal truth be said of those in the south.

However it may be accounted for, the fact remains that the worldliness of the people is appalling. To begin with the educated classes, everyone is familiar with the charge so often made against the higher education, that men seek a University degree not for the sake of the knowledge which its possession implies, but solely for the sake of the salary and position to which it opens the way. The charge is often stated in an exaggerated form, and is used in an illegitimate way to attack the whole educational system of the country. But that there is a large element of truth in it no one doubts. Ask the average student what his aim is, and he says at once, To get a good appointment. Follow the successful student into life and you find that indifference to such worldly things as money and influence is by no means an obvious feature in his character. Turn to the merchant classes, who as a rule are less highly educated. The fact that they give largely of their wealth for the repair or upkeep of ancient temples cannot conceal from us the dominating motive of their life. Pass to the law-courts and what do we find? Litigants of all sorts and conditions, so numerous as to give ample work to a host of advocates, barristers, and pleaders. So great is the litigation of the country that law is by far the most popular of the professions. What is it all about? Property, for

the most part. The people who come into court set such value on land, houses, rights of way, and other things to which the admirers of Hinduism suppose them to be indifferent, that they will subordinate every other consideration to secure possession.

Yes, some will say, this may be true enough; but the people of whom you speak are people who have been corrupted by the worldly West. They have come more or less under the influence of ideals other than those of their own land. The West with its lower aims has so taken possession of the country and so dominates its institutions that many have been torn away from the life of contemplation which was that of their fathers, and carried into the swirl of modern industrialism. Now the influence of the West is certainly a powerful factor in the life of the day, and it is unhappily true that it is not always the best features of Western life that people are most ready to imitate. But does not the fact that the West finds in the East so many apt pupils indicate that there is in their mind a strong predilection towards what the West is supposed to have introduced them to? If India be part of the "unchanging East" why is it that in this most important matter it has been so ready to adopt the spirit of the West, if, as is affirmed, it is alien to its own life?

But even if the worldliness which is so obvious among those who by education or otherwise have come under Western influence were indeed something alien, we must remember that such people are after all a minority, and among the great mass one might expect to find many whose ideals were purely spiritual. India is a land of villages, and the vast majority of its inhabitants have been little influenced by the forces which have told so powerfully on the dwellers in towns. So long as they are left in peace to live the traditional life they care little whether their rulers be Western or Eastern. Ask them why they do this or that and their almost invariable answer is that they simply follow their forefathers' custom. If, then, we find worldliness rather than spirituality to be the dominant note of the life of the masses, we cannot attribute this to the newer influences that are at work.

Now it is just this worldliness that forces itself on a

missionary's notice at every turn. That his message should be received with indifference or opposition is only to be expected. That a Hindu should be warmly attached to the religion of his fathers, and resent anything that interferes with it, is natural. But what we actually find is that the indifference and the opposition have their root, in the great majority of cases, in worldliness and not in bigotry. The Hindu is fond of an argument, and will often try to lead the missionary or evangelist into a discussion on the origin of evil or some other abstruse problem. Yet my experience has been that for every question asked about a matter of religion or philosophy ten are asked about the relation of the new teaching to livelihood. "What will you give us if we join your religion?" "What arrangements will you make for our livelihood?" "The people in such and such a village 'fell into your way'; little enough they have gained by it: how can you expect us to be so foolish as to follow their example?" "Will your God give us food on easier terms than we get it now?" "If he be the true God let him show it by giving us rice while we do nothing but sit and eat it." Such are the questions which are asked in village after village, till we are utterly tired of it all. Or if the hearer is less discontented than some of the others he ends the discussion by saying, "Our gods have fed and clothed us all our days; we shall trust them to the end."

If this was the standpoint of the depressed classes only one could scarcely wonder at it. The Pariah can hardly be said to be a Hindu. He is forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Brahmans, and on festival occasions he may put in an appearance and render such worship to the Hindu gods as is permitted to him. But from the temples he is excluded, and of the sacred books of the Hindus he has never heard. Of a servile class, oppressed and underpaid, seldom knowing what it is to have sufficient food, one can hardly wonder that the things of the spirit have little meaning for him, and that the questions he asks are those of the Gentiles of old, "What shall we eat? and what shall we drink? and wherewithal shall we be clothed?" But such questioning is by no means confined to the outcastes. One is sometimes inclined to say that the

main difference between the Pariah and the caste Hindu is that the latter puts the terms on which he will do us the favour of joining our "way" at a much higher figure than the former. Not all, indeed, are so frank in their worldliness. It may be disguised, or diluted—as it was in the case of Demetrius of Ephesus, who put the danger to his craft and the dishonour of his goddess side by side. Some there doubtless are who spend much of their time in religious study and meditation, and a larger number who are punctilious in the performance of religious ceremonies. But not even devotion to religion proves that its votaries are unworldly, for in Hinduism, as in other systems, religion and worldliness may be closely conjoined. The village Brahmins, as a rule, perform the duties of their caste with a strictness which is impossible in the case of their educated and town-dwelling brethren, but among them, too, the worldly spirit is painfully evident. That there are people who live a life of detachment from the things of the world I do not doubt, but they are in a small minority, and the worldliness of the great majority is obtruded on our notice at every turn.

Here, then, is a problem. How are we to explain the fact that the religion which is attracting attention in the West by its unworldliness has yet so singularly failed to foster an unworldly spirit among its Indian adherents? To some it may seem as if it were simply another instance of the too common divorce between theory and practice. Hindu teaching is one thing; the conduct of Hindus is something very different. "They say and do not," said Jesus of the Pharisees, and His own followers have too often laid themselves open to a similar charge. It must be remembered, too, that it is not so easy for Hindus to be unworldly as is sometimes supposed. If Max Müller's description—quoted above—was ever true, it is inapplicable now. Perhaps at one time, when the population was sparse, and the rainfall (owing to the greater extent of forest) more adequate, it was easy for people to live in comfort. But now India feels the struggle for existence. According to Sir William Hunter's estimate the underfed multitude numbers about 40,000,000, and of the remainder—nearly 260,000,000—the great majority

cannot be said to be in easy circumstances. Famine comes with painful frequency, and its effects remain even after it is gone. The wants of the people may be few, but the means for their satisfaction are, in too many cases, not forthcoming. What wonder that the teaching of the Shastras about the supremacy of the soul should fall on deaf ears? What wonder if theory and practice fall apart?

But further consideration leads us to see that in the worldliness of the Hindu there is more than mere inability to live up to one's creed. I shall try to show, first, that the unworldly ideal is only one of several conflicting ideals which are found in Hinduism; and second, that while the unworldly ideal is by no means absent, it yet has in itself a weakness which renders it largely inoperative.

Hinduism is by no means homogeneous. Side by side lie ways of thinking which have diverse origins and can only be reconciled by violent methods. When we try to separate these we are surprised to find in how few of them the strain which is supposed to be characteristic of Hinduism appears. We begin with the *Veda*, which is not only the oldest sacred collection in India, but is looked on by Hindus of almost every school as the supreme authority. Now in the *Veda* what do we find? That it breathes a religious spirit no one will deny. The *rishis* who wrote the hymns were deeply conscious of the divine. But when they approach their gods the blessings they ask are for the most part connected with the good things of this life. In the very first hymn of the *Rig-Veda* we find these words:

"Through Agni man obtaineth wealth, yea plenty, waxing day by day."

And those who have made a careful study of the hymns tell us that the same conception of the work of the gods is found throughout. "I never realised," says the late Professor A. B. Bruce, in his comment on "after all these things do the Gentiles seek,"<sup>1</sup> "how true the statement of Jesus is till I read the *Vedic Hymns*, the prayer book and song book of the Indian Aryans. With the exception of a few hymns to *Varuna*, in which sin is confessed and

<sup>1</sup> *Expositor's Greek Testament*, vol. i. p. 127.

pardon begged, most hymns, especially those to Indra, contain prayers only for material goods : cows, horses, green pastures, good harvests.

"To wifeless men thou givest wives,  
And joyful mak'st their joyless lives.  
Thou givest sons, courageous, strong,  
To guard their ancient sires from wrong.  
Lands, jewels, horses, herds of kine,  
All kinds of wealth are gifts of thine.  
Thy friend is never slain, his might  
Is never worsted in the fight."<sup>1</sup>

The testimony of other students is similar. The view of the Upanishads that material things all belong to the sphere of illusion is indeed found in the Veda in germ, but according to the Veda as a whole the good things of this life are by no means illusory, but rather of such surpassing value that not only prayers but costly sacrifices are employed to procure them.<sup>2</sup> Can we wonder that this view of life, to which human nature is so prone, has lingered on amid the many changes through which Indian thought has passed ?

When we pass from the Vedas to the Upanishads we find ourselves in a different world. Instead of the childlike worship of the powers of nature we have meditation on the Supreme Soul. Let us admit, for the time being, that one effect of such meditation ought to be a sublime indifference to the things of time. What I wish to note is that along with this teaching, and closely connected with it, is another line whose tendency is very different. If anything is characteristic of Hinduism it is the doctrine of *karma* and the allied doctrine of transmigration. That a man must reap what he has sown is the teaching of Christianity as well as of Hinduism ; but while Christianity postulates a future state in which a harvest of bliss or of woe is to be reaped, Hinduism demands that the soul, after a temporary sojourn in heaven or hell, return to this earth and reap the fruit of former action in a new form. Books on morals describe in detail not only the torments which the evi-

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Dr. Bruce from Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol. v. p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> See Slater, *The Higher Hinduism in relation to Christianity*, p. 57; Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, p. 12.

doer must endure in hell, but his rebirth as a worm, a leper, a low-caste man, or otherwise according to his deeds.

Now according to one form of this doctrine the reaping takes place in the sphere of character. In the *Brihadāsan-yaka Upanishad* it is said : " He who does good is born good, he who does evil is born evil." <sup>1</sup> But of this form we hear very little. The popular belief is that he who does good is born rich and he who does evil is born poor. The poor and the unfortunate—and a good many who are not poor but think they are—bewail their ill luck and account for it by their sins in a former birth, though, unfortunately for the disciplinary value of their suffering, of this birth they have no recollection. When we call in question the transmigration theory, educated and uneducated alike turn to us and say : " How can you possibly doubt it? How is it that one man is a king and another a beggar, one sound in every limb while another is a leper ? " To our mind the connection of one's condition with the sins of a supposed prior birth is by no means obvious ; but the point to be noted is this, that this whole way of looking at life involves the attaching of no small importance to such things as health, wealth and social position. According to the teaching of the Upanishads such things are all illusion. What should it matter to the soul, which alone is real, whether the illusory body in which it dwells, or imagines itself to dwell, be that of a king or a cooly ? Yet to the average Hindu such external differences are of such supreme importance that in order to account for them the whole machinery of transmigration has to be postulated. It is with the material rather than with the moral aspects of *karma* that the ordinary Hindu is concerned. Theoretically considered the doctrine ought to act as a deterrent. Deussen says that " Instances from Indian epic and dramatic poetry are numerous in which a sufferer propounds the question, ' What crime must I have committed in a former birth ? ' and adds immediately the reflection, ' I will sin no more to bring upon myself grievous suffering in a future existence.' "<sup>2</sup> It is questionable if such considerations play much part in real life. The fact that

<sup>1</sup> The quotation is taken from Deussen's *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 314.

the sufferer has no knowledge of the sin for which he suffers, together with the fact that the hope of ultimate release is so remote as to prove almost inoperative, deprives the doctrine of much of the power which it ought to possess. The ordinary Hindu uses the doctrine not as a deterrent, but rather as a means of explaining his present ill luck.

Thus in spite of the teaching of the Upanishads we find ourselves back at the worldly standpoint of the Veda. The Upanishads, it is true, do not look on *karma* as an integral part of the system they teach, but rather as a lower view which may do very well for those who are unable to rise to the higher.<sup>1</sup> But in tolerating it at all they have opened the way for the practical stultification of their own teaching. For although, in their references to *karma*, they may have thought of the effect of action on character rather than on outward circumstances, yet such is human nature that this point of view was soon lost sight of, and the worldly aspects of the doctrine became most prominent.

When we pass from philosophic to popular Hinduism we enter a region in which unworldliness is almost if not entirely lost sight of. The Puranas, and not the Vedas or the Upanishads, are the Bible of the great majority of the people, and in these the gods are pictured as beings of like passions with ourselves, with this difference, that they yield unblushingly to passions of which respectable men are ashamed. It is worth noting that even when the gods practise austerities they are represented as doing so with a worldly end—to gain power over created things.<sup>2</sup> It is true that devout Hindus, by an intellectual process hard for us Westerns to understand, often combine a lofty conception of God with belief in puerile and obscene legends.<sup>3</sup> But it is on the legends that the ordinary Hindu dwells. What wonder if he finds nothing in his religion which teaches him to repress the tendency to worldliness which by nature he shares with others? If his gods are “of the earth, earthy,” why should he trouble himself about spirituality?

<sup>1</sup> *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> Oman: *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> A remarkable instance of this is found in the classic of the South Indian Saivites, the *Tiruvasagam*.

Still more obviously worldly is the belief and worship of the ordinary villager. Many villages have no temple dedicated to any one of the higher deities. Their inhabitants may know something of the Puranic legends, and may pay an occasional visit to a celebrated shrine ; but their usual object of worship is one of the numerous *ammans* or mothers.<sup>1</sup> It is hard to know whether these beings are to be classed as goddesses or demonesses. They have power over cholera, small-pox and other evils, and must be kept in good humour by liberal allowances of food and drink. In his dealings with these, and even with the higher deities, the villager makes no secret of the fact that his object in presenting his offering is to secure some benefit for himself, and believing that the material things which please him will please his god too, he offers them according to his ability. Of the surrender of his will to that of a higher power, and seeking grace to live a life of purity and holiness, he hardly ever dreams.

It is thus clear that the teaching of the Upanishads has had to contend, not only against the tendency of human nature to overvalue the things of time, but against the teaching which already held the field, whether in the higher form of Vedism, or the lower form of aboriginal cults which were afterwards incorporated into Hinduism, and also against systems of later growth, such as the doctrine of *karma* and the popular mythology. Against these it has made little headway, and the Hindus as a whole remain a worldly people. One more question remains. If the higher Hinduism has failed to effect the general life to any considerable extent, is this failure due entirely to the strength of the resisting forces, or does it arise from any weakness in the system itself ? It seems to me that it does. To put it shortly, the Vedantic ideal fails because in its very nature it is an ideal for the few.

Salvation according to the Upanishads is a matter of knowledge. Only by reaching the intuitive knowledge of the *Atman* (soul) is emancipation reached. Now this knowledge is in the nature of the case out of the reach of the great majority. For one thing it demands a know-

<sup>1</sup> See Monier-Williams, *op. cit.* pp. 222-9.

ledge of the Veda, and that knowledge is permissible only to the higher castes. The Brahman is forbidden to recite the Veda in the presence of a Sudra. The first attempts of European scholars to see the sacred volumes was strenuously resisted. The idea of preaching Vedantism in other lands is a purely modern one ; it finds no basis in the Shastras, and is doubtless due to the influence of Christianity. The Upanishad itself was not intended for the multitude. "The word Upanishad," says Deussen,<sup>1</sup> "is usually explained by Indian writers by *rahasyam* (*i.e.* 'secret')," and after quoting references he concludes, "It follows that the universal tendency of antiquity and of the circle which produced the Upanishads was in the direction of keeping their contents secret from unfit persons," that is, as the references show, from all but a very select few. And even if the material means of knowledge—the Vedas and the Upanishads—had been open to the multitude, the process of acquiring the knowledge of the self is so laborious as to be impossible for the great majority. That this is so is generally admitted. When an intelligent Hindu is asked how the lofty teaching of the Vedanta is to be explained to a Pariah, the only hope he can hold out is that perhaps in some other birth he may be fit to receive the knowledge which is now beyond his reach.

It might have been supposed, however, that though the teaching of the Upanishads as a whole was reserved for the few, some echoes of it would be heard in a much wider circle. And it is true that traces of pantheistic thought are found everywhere. But the form in which they usually appear must be noted. We do not, as a rule, find people arguing that since the soul is the only reality the joys and sorrows of the world are of little account, but rather that since God is the only reality He must be the cause of all things, *sin included*. Just as the ordinary Hindu uses the doctrine of *karma* to throw the blame of his condition on some previous existence, so he uses the doctrine that God is all to throw the responsibility on Him. Along both these lines he persuades himself that the fault is not his own. The other aspect of pantheistic thought is

<sup>1</sup> Deussen, *op. cit.* pp. 10-12.

less attractive to him, and leaves little impress on his mind.

The fact is that any teaching which is professedly esoteric has a discouraging effect on those outside the privileged circle. They may hear something about it and adopt such features of it as suit them ; but if any moral or intellectual effort is demanded of them the excuse is easily found, "Why should we trouble about it ? It is not for us, but only for those whose circumstances are other than ours." So they think, and settle down more contentedly than ever to the mode of life which is natural to them.

The same thing appears when we turn to the moral system which is associated with the higher Hinduism—asceticism. If it be true that sense-knowledge is illusory then one must pay as little attention to the senses as is possible in this world. The body must be kept in thorough restraint, and everything done to concentrate the mind on that which alone is real. We have seen that Indian asceticism, under the influence of an idea which is essentially worldly, takes fantastic forms and is attributed even to the gods. It is generally admitted, too, that of the professed asceticism of the country the greater part is unreal. But even if we take the asceticism of India at its best, as an honest attempt to rise above the world and the flesh, it is obvious that the ascetic life is possible only for a few. Even if there were no other consideration, it must be remembered that the extreme asceticism which is practised in India involves living by beggary. (The number of professional beggars is estimated at about 5,000,000.) If all become beggars no one is left from whom they can beg. The very existence of ascetics implies that the majority of men abide in their ordinary occupation. Even apart from this, a life of asceticism is obviously unsuited for the majority of men. If, then, as one of the Upanishads says, "No one who is not an ascetic brings his sacrificial works to perfection, or obtains knowledge of the highest self,"<sup>1</sup> the ordinary man must content himself without such perfection. What is the result? Since the goal is unattainable the ordinary man ceases to strive after it. He may admire the ascetic, but he is not

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Slater, *Higher Hinduism*, p. 253.

called upon to imitate him. The ascetic has his high calling, and the ordinary man fears his curse and craves his blessing. But to be like him is impossible, so why need he try? It does not occur to him that though he remains in the world he may exercise such self-control as to live above it. Unless he can be an ascetic, which he regards as impossible, he need not try to be anything but what he is, a man immersed in the world and its affairs, and content if he can live therein in accordance with the standard set up by those who went before him and those who are around him.

Here, then, lies one secret of the failure of the Vedantic ideal. If unworldliness is to be practised it must be an unworldliness which is possible for all. Is there such a thing? The Gospel of Jesus Christ teaches that there is. It comes as good tidings for all peoples. It was among the "depressed classes" of the day and among the middle classes that Jesus won His first disciples. It was to a woman—a woman, too, with a dull mind and a bad character—that Jesus uttered His lofty teaching as to the spirituality of God. He prayed, not that His disciples might be taken out of the world, but that they might be kept from the evil.<sup>1</sup> The Oriental view that matter is evil, and that only a few can escape its snare and attain to divine wisdom, soon appeared, but the apostles set themselves with all their might to fight against the error. "Warning *every* man," says St. Paul, "and teaching *every* man in all wisdom; that we may present *every* man perfect in Christ Jesus."<sup>2</sup> This is the Christianity which has gone throughout the world, conquering and to conquer. It takes the sinner, the slave, the pariah, just as he is, and shows him what he may become. It is not content with putting before him a goodness which he may admire but need not attempt to imitate. It leads him into a fellowship with God through Christ which gives him a motive to holiness of life. It teaches self-restraint, and with a view to self-restraint it encourages the formation of habits of prayer and meditation. It has its sabbaths and its retreats. But it uses such retirement from the world not as an end in itself but as a means of living "soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present

<sup>1</sup> St. John xvii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Col. i. 28.

world."<sup>1</sup> It calls on all to be holy, but teaches that holiness is not to be attained by abandoning the world, but by so bringing the loftiest motives to bear on everything that there is no longer anything common or unclean.

Note, too, that it is not by lowering the standard that Christianity tries to win all. Strictly speaking its standard of holiness is higher than that of Hinduism, for the holiness of love and unselfish effort is higher than that of mere abstraction from the things of sense. Hinduism fails, not because its ideal is too high, but, first, because its ideal is an unreal one. Human nature does not find in it its true life, and hence the majority of men make no attempt at its realisation. The Christian ideal is that for which man was intended, and hence any man whose eyes are opened to its glory is encouraged to make it his own. Hinduism fails, in the second place, because it leaves out of account the strength of the living God. It teaches what man ought to do. Christianity teaches what God has done, and it is only by resting on this that man can attain anything.

India will become truly unworldly when it hears the voice of Christ. Then alone will all that is noble in the ideal of its sages be realised, for then alone will it be so presented as to be the true ideal of the race; and not a select few alone, but a great multitude of all tribes and castes and tongues will realise that "the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal."

J. H. MACLEAN.

<sup>1</sup> Titus ii. 12.

## THE JUNIOR CLERGY MISSIONARY ASSOCIATIONS.

IT is already late to reply to Mr. Rogers' article<sup>1</sup> on the J.C.M.A., but a further discussion is clearly needed where statements are so sweeping and suggestions so revolutionary.

It would be quite easy to prove that Mr. Rogers overstates his case, but there would be no purpose served by doing so : he has pointed out with unsparing severity, if not with some exaggeration, some very serious evils, and we should be very blind indeed to resent criticism which is given with good-will. We should rather examine ourselves and our own shortcomings.

For it is clear, as the Bishop of Dorking told us more than a year ago, that something is wrong. To take Mr. Rogers' criticisms as far as they are unquestionably true, a large number of J.C.M.A. members have never faced the question of service abroad for themselves : a great proportion of our members are merely nominal : many of our branches are in a supine condition : many J.C.M.A. meetings are dead and cold : there is a lamentable unwillingness to go abroad, even when the call is pressed home to the uttermost and the Archbishop makes the appeal.

If the J.C.M.A. were merely an ordinary society such things might be considered rational and pardonable ; but, in a missionary society of younger clergy, to lose the salt of sacrifice is to lose everything. Here is the real seriousness of the situation. Priests, especially young priests, engaging in missionary work, cannot possibly be nominal members.

For many years past the evils of our present state have been seen, and the most strenuous efforts have been made

<sup>1</sup> October 1906.

to check them. Yet, after all these efforts, an average attendance at meetings of only one-fifth of the membership is nothing less than disgraceful—I can call it by no milder word. I had hoped against hope that improvement would come, but now I should be prepared for more drastic remedies. I would propose at once to begin with some such rule as follows :—“ Any member of the J.C.M.A. who has attended no meeting of his own Association during the course of the year shall, unless adequate reason is given, be struck off the roll of membership.”

I would further recommend the most careful scrutiny of supine associations. Such work should be carried out with tact and sympathy, but if there is no prospect of new life being instilled by a revision of method or change of officers, the branch should be closed. The principle should be laid down that “ no association shall continue as a branch of the J.C.M.A. which does not show sacrifice and energy in the missionary cause.” To prevent once and for all the danger of inflated numbers, and to mark out clearly with disapproval carelessness and neglect, I would recommend the following rule :—“ That no association shall be reckoned in the Annual Official List which does not send in a return and report to the General Secretary at the time appointed.” I would also urge a definite standing order as to a minor but important point :—“ The time for private business shall not exceed ten minutes at any meeting of branch associations, without the consent of a two-thirds majority of those present.”

It may be naturally objected, “ Why interfere so much with individual associations, and make hard-and-fast rules ? ” I would reply that we have already a drastic rule in our Constitution, viz., that no clergyman of over twenty years’ standing shall bear office. In recommending further minor rules, I am only carrying out the principle of our Association, viz., to conserve efficiency and enthusiasm. I would add that the policy of non-intervention has been tried, and has been found unavailing. If we are to be living, we must be thorough and real. “ Salt is good, but if the salt have lost its savour wherewith shall it be salted ? It is fit neither for the land nor for the dunghill : men cast it out. He that hath ears to hear let him hear.”

In the good mercy of God we have not yet become savourless : the sacrifice is still salted with salt ; but there is unquestionably a danger of unreality, and as our work is so high, so we need to take every precaution in order that unreality may be stamped out. The rules I have suggested may only help a very little ; but if adopted they would tend to greater reality, and would at the same time in no way stifle life or development.

I would bring in by way of parenthesis a fact which, I believe, is at the root of one half of our present troubles. The great deterrent to the consideration even of work abroad at the present time is the overwhelming problem of our unshepherded congregations at home. This fact has often been stated ; yet it is not as clearly recognised that this home problem is not so much due to lack of men as to bad distribution, and that this bad distribution of our clergy at home has a direct effect upon the Mission-field. While vast Mission areas are being lost to the Church and large town parishes are undermanned, we allow deserted country parishes at home to be overstocked by clergy. One priest in Queensland or Western Canada has a charge as big as Wales ; one priest in India is a missionary to a million people scattered over an area larger than the British Isles ; one priest in a rising English town has the charge of 12,000 to 15,000 souls, while in the country parishes the proportion is often so small as to be nothing less than shameful. On a single page, taken at random from a Church Directory, I have counted six parish priests who have between them the cure of 415 souls ! Page after page of the Directory tells the same tale. I myself once took Sunday duty at a tiny parish : after Morning Service was over I walked a short distance and found two other parish churches side by side in the same churchyard, in which two priests (one a Canon of the diocese) were taking two separate services and preaching two separate sermons at the same time to some two or three dozen people ! Every effort had been made, so the good Canon told me, to unite the parishes ; but vested interests and legal difficulties had proved too strong. Think of the consequences ! There were three priests doing the work of one, while in countless other places one priest was doing the work of three. One is apt

to smile at such parochialism and call it English conservatism, until its consequences are recognised. I do not think it is too much to say that if a redistribution of work and income were made to-day at home, every home-need of our vast town parishes could be supplied, and the question of work abroad could be faced without the paralysing uncertainty of a double claim—the home claim seeming almost greater than the foreign. I have the keenest sympathy with those who feel the pressure at home—I know it by experience; but I know now by experience that the need abroad is far greater, and I can see now, much more clearly than I did, that the dearth in the large home parishes is unnecessary. There the remedy and the supply are both close at hand; here there is neither supply nor remedy. I have had talks with those in high authority at home concerning the evil of our multitude of tiny country parishes, but all say the same thing. The legal difficulties and vested interests are well-nigh insoluble. But it is no use sitting still under the evil. The remedy really lies in our own hands. It is we younger clergy who are to blame for so often undertaking such charges. We cannot expect that God will thrust forth more labourers into the harvest while so many of our present labourers are only doing half-work. I know there are many who are doing diocesan work also, and thus filling up their whole time—it is not of these that I am speaking; but there are many others, both in town and country, whose sphere of work, compared with the greatness of our present needs, is not half big enough, and it is these whom I would urge, if health does not prevent it, to "move on." I would add that health itself may become a subtle excuse, and that we clergy are often much more tender about our own health than business men. A retirement to the country is made too easy for us, and we are apt to succumb too soon to its attraction.

I trust that I may be pardoned for speaking thus plainly. I felt that this had to be said by some one. I recognise the danger of being misunderstood, and write with considerable diffidence. But I am pleading for *reality* and I cannot adequately describe how distressed and pained I was, when in England on sick leave, at the easy-going and indolent clerical life I met with in many quarters. If any

word of mine can rouse even a single man who is settling down into a life of comfortable clerical ease to feel that this must not, and cannot and shall not be, I shall be thankful, even at the risk of some misunderstanding, to have expressed myself in quite unguarded terms.

I come back to the second part of Mr. Rogers' suggestions, with which, I am afraid, I profoundly disagree. To begin with, I should protest very strongly indeed against the levy of a high subscription from the younger clergy. It would be an unequal and unfair tax. It would be also a deterrent to some of the very best, who—all honour to them—working in slum parishes, can say with the Apostle, "Silver and gold have I none, but what I have I give." I would lay the main stress of home duty and sacrifice in an Association of Priests on "the Ministry of the Word and the Prayers." I would increase tenfold within the J.C.M.A. the application of its members to spiritual study of missionary problems and achievements. The whole ministerial life would be enriched by such study, and every sermon would become more and more living. Instead of less missionary sermons, as Mr. Rogers advises, we need more; but they should be more full of instruction and knowledge. When a learned and travelled archdeacon at home asked me at a public meeting how my work among the Buddhists (*sic*) in Delhi was progressing, there is room for questioning whether the unlearned and untravelled laity have yet had enough of instructive and inspiring missionary sermons!

But even deeper still than the "Ministry of the Word" comes the paramount duty of leading the people in regular missionary intercession. This must be set before every priest as an obligation of membership. I know that conference after conference has returned to this point, and that some slight progress has been made. But the battle is not yet by any means won, and there will be an unreality about J.C.M.A. membership until it becomes recognised as a primary condition that every priest member shall hold in his own church, along with his own people, regular and definite intercession. I confess that I was disappointed, when last in England, after reading of the increased circulation of the "Quarterly Intercession Paper," to find how

few churches had a weekly missionary intercession. More good, probably, can be done on this side through the personal work of keen members who will induce others to take their part, and who will answer their practical difficulties than by a further Association Rule.

Last of all, Mr. Rogers proposes to cut the Gordian knot of our present difficulties with one sweeping blow, and limit the J.C.M.A. to candidates for service abroad. I cannot really believe that this proposal is serious. It would seem to me not only injudicious, but, if I might say so, somewhat priggish. Let us get rid of cant and cease putting a halo round the mere fact of going abroad. There are a very large number of men at home who have faced the question and clearly cannot go abroad. Some of these are the keenest missionaries in the world to-day : it is only circumstances, which we believe are of God's ordering, that prevent them being in the Mission-field. They are workers in their own appointed place, as truly as those abroad are workers, for the extension of Christ's Kingdom. To have no place for these in the J.C.M.A. would be ruinous. It would be a fatal check to that interflow of loving prayer and communion among missionary-hearted and missionary-working priests which is the strength of all missionary vocation and ministry and the ultimate basis of our Association.

At the same time I fully recognise that those who are beginning to feel the burden of the call to foreign work are too isolated, and that continually a high impulse, a new hope of vocation fades away and dies down for want of sympathy and encouragement. Whether there could be a means within the J.C.M.A. of uniting those who are feeling the call ; whether there could be a means of gathering them together quietly, almost privately, for conference and communion ; whether one of the most sympathetic readers could act as correspondent and invite letters and questions, and perhaps visit and be visited by any young priest whose mind is not clear and whose way of vocation is clouded—whether some such quiet, simple Union within the J.C.M.A. could be accomplished under wise leadership, I do not know. I wish it could be : it would be well worth trying. I am sure more true missionary vocations are lost through

lack of sympathy and encouragement, through isolation and imaginary difficulties, than by any question as to whether a patriarch, archbishop or bishop must give authoritative direction. I do not wish to speak slightly of the question of authority—I know it is a difficulty to some<sup>1</sup>; but with most it is not the real difficulty. I have had very many talks and much correspondence with young priests about the Mission-field, and in almost every case the point of difficulty has been some misunderstanding which needed to be removed—the language difficulty, the health difficulty, the marriage difficulty, the parents' difficulty, etc., etc.—and it has been only by talking over and praying together over these difficulties that the clouds have disappeared and the clear bright sunshine of vocation has pierced through the mists. I often felt when in England that I would dearly like to spend some months simply in meeting and talking over elementary difficulties, considering practical ways and means, and discussing the true conditions of the Mission-field with the younger clergy.

If it be objected that such a Union within the J.C.M.A. would lead to a double standard and split the society, I can only point to the Student Volunteers whom I used to know at Cambridge. There was no hard line of demarcation between them and other Christian Union students. Their own Union was both quiet and unobtrusive. I would urge most strongly a study of the S.V.M.U., and the methods of its travelling secretaries. Our difficulties are greater than theirs, as our men are older and more isolated. But I am sure that we should unite with them in whatever way we can and learn their spirit, and also endeavour to work out in our own circles some of their means of banding intending missionaries together.

It is indeed time that we took courage and went forward. It is a time of glorious inspiration and hope, when every man should be buckling on his armour. It is a time when on every side harvest-fields are whitening. It is a

<sup>1</sup> May I add in a footnote that it is quite a mistake to think that Missionary vocation in the Roman Church comes only through authority? Among clergy who are not monks missionary service is entirely spontaneous; and in the monastic orders themselves there are large opportunities for volunteering for service abroad.

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time when new kingdoms are being won for Christ. In the East the lassitude of centuries is being shaken off in a generation. The tide of nationality has reached every capital of Asia. The greatest events of the world's history may be yet before us, when India, China, Persia, and Afghanistan awake to a new life. Africa is penetrated at last from shore to shore. In Western Canada a nation is being born in a day. Is this the time to spend a life that is still young and vigorous with a handful of people and a comfortable income? "Is it a time to receive money, and to receive garments and olive yards and vine-yards, and sheep and oxen?" By all the sacred pledges of our ordination, if we have youth and health, let us be up and doing. The priesthood calls for sacrifice; the Christian peoples, all unshepherded, call for sacrifice; the world, with its intolerable burden of misery and oppression, calls for sacrifice. To none can the call come with more commanding, more attractive power than to the Younger Clergy.

C. F. ANDREWS.

## THE PIONEER WORK OF MEDICAL MISSIONS.

Most of the pioneer work of the Church has been done already. In all ages there have been ardent natures to whom the expectation of hardship or danger has acted, not as a deterrent, but as a strong stimulus and attraction ; and from their labours it now results that in almost all the countries of the world a commencement at least has been made of the work of evangelisation.

From all sides there come the tidings, not of closed doors, but of great opportunities, of regions formerly inaccessible but now freely opened ; of peoples once utterly hostile, yet now waiting, even anxiously, for the Gospel. Speaking broadly, the need of the Church to-day is not so much for adventurous missionary pioneers who, at the risk of their lives, will go into unexplored countries, as for those to whom steady obedience brings sufficient reward, and who will be content to spend their days in patient, unromantic evangelistic effort amongst ignorant village folk, or in coping with the urgent pastoral needs of communities whose readiness to accept Christianity has been in advance of the capacity of their leaders to instruct them. There remain, however, even now, some few lands where, owing to the hostile attitude of the ruling powers, the open preaching of the Gospel seems to be almost impossible, whilst in two or three, notably Thibet, Afghanistan and parts of Arabia, not only are active attempts at Christianising sternly repressed, but every effort is made to render the very existence of Christianity an impossibility. We may, for the sake of argument, speak of such countries as "closed lands."

What is the duty of the Christian Church in the face of

barriers such as these? An able writer on missionary problems has recently said: "We have no right to say of any single country that it is barred against the Gospel. If we say this still of Afghanistan and Thibet, or of any other land, it may be truly answered that the Church has no right to call any door closed which she has had neither faith nor courage to attempt to open and pass through."<sup>1</sup> It may well be questioned whether such a verdict as the above is based upon a true appreciation of the conditions obtaining in such countries as those instanced, and it may be worth while, before passing on to a brief consideration of efforts which are being made to open closed doors, to spend a few moments over the question as to whether they really are closed in fact, or only in imagination. Is the Church right in waiting, active, prayerful, and expectant, outside the borders of such closed regions, or does true obedience dictate that she should press through, be the cost what it may, and raise the standard of the Cross, Government restrictions notwithstanding?

We might regard the City of Mecca, sacred to all Moslems, as presenting an example of a door closed to the Gospel. The very few professing Christians who have succeeded in reaching this city seem all, whether Europeans or Orientals, to have regarded a careful concealment of their faith as an essential condition of success in their enterprise. Turning now to Afghanistan, we find that there is an absolute veto upon the entrance into the country of all Europeans, except such as go at the express invitation of the Amir himself; and the Indian Government has, under present conditions, no option but to enforce this prohibition. Such Europeans as have spent a longer or shorter time in Kabul have had their actions and movements very closely scrutinised, and have known well that the slightest suspicion of their having made any attempt to spread the truths of Christianity would have led to their immediate expulsion from the country.

There have been, during recent years, at least three deliberate attempts on the part of missionaries to penetrate into Afghanistan; in each case the traveller was discovered

<sup>1</sup> Speer's *Missionary Principles and Practice*, p. 529.

within a few hours after crossing the frontier, and the enterprise ended in a compulsory retirement under military escort. These attempts have had the effect of closing the door more firmly than before as regards trans-frontier evangelisation, and of creating in the minds of some of the Government officials concerned a suspicion regarding missionary work on the frontier which has not easily been dispelled.

During the British occupation of Kabul at the time of the last Afghan war, a short visit was paid there by the native pastor of the church at Peshawar, the Rev. Imám Shah, for the purpose of ministering to the spiritual needs of a small colony of Armenian Christians who had long been established in the city, and whose presence had been tolerated in consideration of the fact that they were Christians by birth, not converts from Islam, and that they had no connection with the Europeans. Towards the close of the year 1896, however, the late Amir, desirous probably of gaining favour with the Sultan of Turkey, and of strengthening his position as the head of Islam in the Middle East, passed an order expelling the whole of this Armenian colony from the country, and, accordingly, they found their way to Peshawar, where they received a warm welcome from the missionaries, and have since been devoted and regular members of the congregation of the Mission Church.

The severity of the present Amir's attitude with respect to religious freedom may be judged from the recent case of a learned Kabul Moulvie, who became an adherent of the heterodox Mohammedan leader, Mirza Ghulám Ahmad, of Qadian in the Central Punjab. The Moulvie was tried for heresy and convicted, and upon his persisting in a refusal to recant was publicly stoned to death in accordance with Mohammedan law. He was willing to give his life for a new teaching which seemed better than that which he had formerly believed, and there was no one who could point him to the Saviour of mankind.

As regards the broad strip of independent hill territory intervening between British India and Afghanistan, and inhabited by the Afridis, Waziris, Mohmands, Mahsuds, and other tribes of Pathans, the position at present is that

the British Government is obliged, for the sake of its prestige along the frontier, and for the sake of peace, not only to visit with extreme severity any outrage against its own officers or other Europeans, but to avoid exposing the turbulent tribesmen to the temptation to disgrace themselves. It is entirely beside the mark for the missionary pioneer to protest that he is prepared to go forward, facing cheerfully the risk to life, and that, if murdered, no reprisals will be called for. He is told, in reply, that to dissociate himself from the ruling powers is an impossibility, and that any outrage against a white man, if allowed to remain unpunished, would be followed by such an outbreak of further disorder as would inevitably lead ere long to a punitive expedition. In actual practice the missionary upon the Indian North-West frontier quickly finds that not only would any attempt to cross the border without permission be inevitably frustrated, but that his freedom to work unhindered, even in districts adjacent thereto, is conditional upon his enjoying the confidence of the responsible government officials with regard to this frontier restriction.

On the other hand, it may be gratefully acknowledged that, from the time of Sir Herbert Edwardes down to the present, a large amount of sympathetic interest has been shown, and practical assistance given, by agents of the British Government, both civil and military, to missionaries whose tact and loyal obedience they could trust ; and there seems no reason to expect that the prohibition to work in trans-frontier districts will be continued beyond the time at which it may safely be withdrawn.

As regards the possibility of evangelisation by ex-Mohammedan converts, there is complete unanimity of opinion amongst Christians who are natives of the regions under consideration that the only witness possible for them to bear would be that of martyrdom ; that to any Oriental Christian who was discovered beyond the frontier the alternatives would speedily be presented of denial of Christ or death. It may be that some of the small group of Pathan or Afghan converts will be constrained by God Himself to go forward and give their lives in witness for their faith ; but it does not seem possible for the European workers to use any pressure in this direction, the less so

in that they themselves would be unable to set the example. At present, for a Pathan convert to return alive from a visit to a trans-frontier district would be regarded by most of his compatriot Christians as being in itself evidence of his having concealed, if not denied, his faith.

If, then, it may with justice be conceded that, so far as personal evangelisation is concerned, there are still lands that are "closed," what remains for the Church to do? Are there practical ways in which it may be preparing at the entrance for a time of freer access—or, better still, are there indirect ways in which such countries may be permeated with the Gospel; or is a policy of prayerful, expectant inactivity the only one possible?

One answer at least to questions such as these may be found in a study of the Medical Missions of the Church Missionary Society along the North-West frontier of India. The importance of these institutions, from the standpoint of missionary policy, lies in the fact of their being situated at strategic points upon several of the great trade routes between Afghanistan and British India. The broad barrier of hills which separates the two countries, and in the fastnesses of which dwell, secure from interference, the unruly tribes of Pathans, to which reference has been made, is pierced at several points by mountain passes which have gained historical fame from the numerous military operations of which they have been the scene.

There is a constant stream in both directions of travellers along these mountain passes, and it is mainly in order to bring Christian influences to bear upon these, and through them upon the countries from which they come and to which they return, that the Frontier Medical Missions have been established. The trans-frontier caravans consist largely of traders, who, bringing their families and leaving them at or near the Indian border towns, scatter themselves during each winter season throughout the cities of Northern India. Besides these, there are multitudes of cold-weather visitors, families of the agricultural or labouring class, who, as each autumn comes round, escape from the rigours and scarcity of the Afghan winter, and seek employment, together with cheaper food supplies, upon the British side of the border, returning to their native hills

upon the approach of summer, with its severe heat. A third and increasing class of travellers from the closed land consists of patients and their families, who undertake journeys, often of two or three weeks in duration, in the hope of obtaining that skilled medical treatment which they long for in vain in their own cities and villages.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the need of medical, and still more of surgical, aid in such a country as Afghanistan. In British India the vast amount of work done by the Government in the countless hospitals and dispensaries under the control of the Indian Medical Department, is supplemented by the private enterprise of an army of native practitioners trained in Indian medical schools, and yet the supply is confessedly utterly inadequate to the needs of the vast rural population. When we come, however, beyond the frontier, we find no medical relief whatever organised, either by public or private bodies, and, with the exception of a few hakims in the largest cities, the whole of the private practice, such as exists, is in the hands of untrained "barber-surgeons," whose methods are in the highest degree crude, not to say barbarous. The unrestrained use of the actual cautery in cases of inflamed bones and joints, the plunging of septic needles into painful parts, quite irrespective of anatomy, the haphazard attempts at ophthalmic surgery by itinerant cataract "specialists," are responsible for an enormous amount of positive suffering, while the absence of any skilled medical or surgical aid means that, to the sick and injured amongst a population of several millions, the prospect has to be faced of a tedious and probably painful journey by road, with the alternative of remaining without hope of relief. A recent and by no means exceptional case to illustrate this is that of a stalwart young Afghan, whose thigh had been shattered by a bullet, away in a village beyond Kabul, and who was brought by his relatives to the Peshawar Mission Hospital, a distance of more than two hundred miles, lying upon a bedstead which was balanced across the back of a buffalo, no attempt whatever having been made to retain the fragments of bone in position by the application of splints to the limb. In the wards of the Peshawar Mission Hospital, especially during the winter months, by far the larger proportion of cases are

those which have come for treatment from far beyond the border, and the same could probably be said of other Frontier Medical Missions. Among the patients will be cases of severe bullet wounds from Tirah, the result of the frequent family or tribal blood-feuds amongst the Pathans, of tumour, stone, tubercular disease of bones or joints, or other conditions urgently calling for surgical operation, with a large sprinkling of cases of disease of the eyes, including many of cataract. Of late almost daily there have come groups of trans-frontier women, bringing children for vaccination, since now even they are finding that this is the one safeguard against small-pox, which is such a scourge amongst them.

A Medical Mission, then, has the power of attracting large numbers of travellers from these inaccessible trans-frontier regions, and it is difficult to see how any other agency could possibly do this to the same extent without at the same time offering material inducements, such as would be to the prejudice of the spiritual side of the work. Nor is it merely a means of attraction : the Mission hospital affords unique opportunities for direct evangelisation, while at the same time the tendency of all the beneficent work which is carried on is to prepare the soil for the seed to be sown, by removing prejudices and misconceptions, by substituting gratitude for suspicion, and by establishing such a personal relation between the evangelist and those whom he seeks to influence, that his message may at least be listened to with the attention necessary to ensure its being understood.

The thought may, perhaps, occur to some that even free medical aid such as this partakes of the nature of a bribe, and that it is taking an unfair advantage to seek to undermine a man's religion while he is sick or suffering. To this it may be replied, first, that the ministry of healing is not, when used in connection with Christianity, of the nature of an extraneous attraction or bribe (as it might be truly considered if employed by a society to propagate Hinduism or Islam) ; it is rather of the essence of Christianity itself, a demonstration of the teaching of Christ in such clear fashion that even those who could not hear or understand preaching may see and feel what the new thing

is which is offered to them. Christian preaching, divorced from all care for the suffering, would be unnatural, unreal ; while a Mission hospital where preaching was impossible might still be worthy the name of a Medical Mission. You may be bribed to purchase a packet of tea by the offer of an ornamental canister in which to keep it ; but a rose, by its own scent, does not bribe, although it may impel you to possess it. Secondly, the present writer has always felt that a Mission hospital is not the place for undermining religion, if, in order to do this, it be necessary to make attacks upon it. Our work is to present the Living Christ, the Saviour of the World, before our patients, rather than to proclaim Mohammed an impostor and the Koran a fraud. The case returns vividly to one's memory of a saintly old Mussalman, far holier than his creed, who presented himself, quite blind, at a small hill dispensary, after a walk of thirty miles, for operation for cataract, with words such as these : "Life has nothing more to offer me ; my one longing is that just enough sight may be restored to enable me to read that book (the Koran) which is life to me." The old man received his sight ; he left the hospital full of rejoicing gratitude ; he had heard something of the message, "Come unto Me," and of the Saviour who gave it, but—rightly or wrongly, let others decide—the foundations of his belief were not deliberately undermined.

Let it be added that in a Mission hospital it is the rarest event for any resentment to be shown, or even objection offered to the teaching of Christian truth to the patients, that the limit to the evangelistic work in the hospital is set, not by the readiness or unreadiness of the patients to listen, but by the capacity of the staff to cope with their opportunities, and it will be admitted that we have here a means of real value of bringing the Gospel message into contact with the travellers from these closed lands, and thus, by their means, of spreading the knowledge of Christian truth into paths whither the missionary cannot penetrate.

Nor is this all ; the impression received and passed on by patients from a Mission hospital may often be imperfect and fragmentary ; in fact, in the case of such as have only been a short time under treatment, or have not been atten-

tive listeners, it will not infrequently be rather of the nature of a favourable influence, or a correction of old antipathies or misunderstandings, than any very definite reception by intellect or heart of new truth. Nothing is more easy, however, than to make a frontier Mission hospital a centre for the wide dissemination of God's Word. Each one of the many thousands of out-patients receives a prescription paper, upon the reverse of which a series of carefully chosen texts of Scripture may be printed in the appropriate language ; whilst, as regards the in-patients who leave the hospital wards, grateful and often longing to show their gratitude for kindness received, the period of friendly intercourse may most fitly be brought to a close by an interview leading up to the gift of a copy of the Gospels or one of them, with the earnest request—in cases where the patient himself is unable to read—that he will show his gratitude by carefully preserving the book during the journey home-wards, and that, on arrival, he will present it to the Mullah of his village. Whilst strongly deprecating the indiscriminate *free* distribution of portions of Scripture as a rule, the writer believes that it is well worth while giving them without charge at such times as these, when the sense of obligation, or even actual affection, may be relied upon to give a special value to the gift. It is no longer a haphazard firing away of ammunition, but becomes part of a carefully directed preliminary fusillade upon a hostile position.

Thus much as to present evangelistic effort for the people of closed lands. Can anything be done by means of Medical Missions to expedite and facilitate actual missionary advance into regions as yet inaccessible ? The value of these institutions in conciliating and civilising the turbulent tribesmen of the border hills has repeatedly been acknowledged by responsible frontier officials. The patient efforts of such a worker as Dr. Pennell, of the Bannu Medical Mission, who for fifteen years has spent much of his time itinerating amongst the villages along an extensive line of frontier, in intimate personal intercourse with the Waziris and Mahsuds, cannot but tend in the same direction. The desire that it may become possible for medical missionaries to visit in trans-frontier villages is expressed frequently and with much warmth by patients who have succeeded in

reaching the distant hospitals, and who long that friends not so fortunate may receive similar help. As regards the highland districts along the frontier, it may be said that the Medical Missions are helping largely to transform suspicious foes into loyal friends, and to make it possible for direct evangelistic work to be permitted amongst them.

What then as regards the more remote closed land of Afghanistan and the regions beyond this? If we cannot expect to be able directly to influence the Government authorities, by whose orders present missionary advance is checked, we may at least be preparing to take advantage of the opening when in God's good providence it comes. It seems almost inconceivable that the present attitude of the Amir regarding foreign access to his country can be very long maintained; sooner or later the enormous gain which would result from a closer intercourse will be recognised, and the restrictions will be removed. The workers at the frontier Medical Missions may well continue their efforts to attract and form links of personal attachment with the traveller patients who come to them, confident that when the time shall arrive for them to go forward without let or hindrance there will be in the towns and villages of the closed land some who, as inmates of the Mission hospitals, have already come into contact with practical Christianity, and whose gratitude will show itself in a warm welcome to those who claim connection with them. When the gateway into the country is unbarred it will be found that the doors into villages, homes, and hearts have already been partially opened.

In what has been written above, special reference has been made to work on the Afghan Frontier of India, but efforts on similar lines and with equally encouraging results are being directed towards the opening up of Western Thibet, mainly by the itinerations of the Drs. Neve, in connection with the Kashmir Medical Mission at Srinagar, and by the members of the Moravian Mission at Leh.

There are a few practical points concerning this aspect of Medical Mission work which deserve consideration. As regards location, the Mission hospital should be at a central city to which travellers naturally converge, and at a

readily accessible point in such a city. Itinerating medical mission work in frontier villages is of great importance, but its usefulness is increased and rendered more permanent when it is brought into close organic connection with a regular base hospital, to which patients may be sent for operation or further treatment and from which helpers and supplies may be obtained.

The workers should be continually on their guard against letting the medical or surgical part of the work absorb too much of their interest and energies, to the exclusion of actual evangelistic effort. It is not enough to provide for regular services in wards and out-patient rooms ; the most fruitful work will usually be that which implies close personal contact with individuals, quiet interviews at the bedside, or better still, when possible, in a special room set apart for the purpose. A Medical Mission will usually provide evangelistic opportunities far beyond the power of the doctor himself to cope with, thought it is most important that he should take a constant and active share in it. The regular help of an evangelistic colleague, assisted when possible by native workers in the Mission, will be of the utmost value.

True though it is that in a Medical Mission, no less than in a hospital at home, the highest ideals as to professional efficiency should be aimed at, it is, nevertheless, often necessary, if we would really attract semi-civilised or undisciplined natures, to make some concessions as regards hospital *régime*. The worker, trained in Western schools to map out his day's programme with careful regularity, must be prepared to sacrifice his plans at every turn, in order to embrace opportunities for personal dealing, it may be in a quiet interview with some leading man from a trans-frontier village, whom he may never again have the chance of influencing. If medical efficiency were the only consideration, the mission hospital would doubtless be closed to visitors except on special days at fixed hours, yet it would hardly be too much to assert that its value as a pioneer agency is doubled by opening the wards freely to visitors and by permitting patients when possible to move about in the hospital and have full opportunity for free intercourse with each other. Nothing banishes suspicion

so effectually as perfect freedom of access, and if the presence of numerous relations and visitors is a frequent and sore trial to the hospital staff, it has the result of largely increasing the number of people brought under the influence of the evangelistic workers. It is no uncommon sight to find a dozen sympathetic friends of some patient all attentively listening to the teaching which is being given at the bedside of the one whom they came to visit.

A more difficult, but still more necessary concession to be made to long-distance trans-frontier patients, is in regard to arrangements for those who come with their families. Often it happens that some small child is brought for treatment by its parents, who, coming from a distant village, have not been able to leave the rest of their family at home, so present themselves at the hospital gateway with, perhaps, four or five children, all of them expecting admission. Often it is a husband, who brings his sick wife, and, in the absence of anyone with whom to leave his children, brings them also. One very satisfactory way of dealing with such cases is to set aside a part of the hospital as a "caravan-serai," with a number of separate rooms, each of which is adapted for the accommodation of a whole family. In the mission hospital at Peshawar there is for this special purpose a large courtyard surrounded by some twenty small roomis; these are highly appreciated, and almost always fully occupied. The relations are for the most part able to support themselves, and are always ready to help in the care of the patients. Such an arrangement is difficult to reconcile with the highest professional ideals, but it exactly fits in with the Oriental notion of what a hospital should be, and it largely widens the range of influence, as well as increases the opportunities for evangelisation.

It is as the patients are treated with individual, sympathetic interest, and not merely as "hospital cases," that the medical side of the work really acts as the handmaid to the spiritual.

Bearing in mind the great and increasing need for workers in the more developed fields of missionary activity, it is important that for the special difficulties connected with pioneer work, those methods should be

adopted which promise the best results with the least waste of power. It may be claimed that one of the means which holds out most hope of success is that by which, following the example of our blessed Lord Himself, we seek to open closed doors by the Ministry of Healing.

The writer would conclude by commanding two facts to the consideration of any whom they may concern :

First, there is a present need of at least two or three more medical missionaries on the Afghan frontier, in order to bring the staffs of the existing medical missions up to their normal complement. The work is severe, yet full of intense interest, and offers an ideal sphere for an active, energetic young surgeon who feels the call to consecrate his powers wholly to the service of Christ and the relief of suffering.

Secondly, there are no Pushtu-speaking ordained missionaries on this frontier ; none able to teach and examine trans-frontier converts in their own language ; none even preparing to press forward to evangelise this closed land when the way shall be opened. Here, again, working amongst a people active, virile, and independent, and in close conjunction with one or other of the medical missions, a young clergyman, strong in body, intellect, and spirit, and fitted for an active, outdoor life, would find a sphere of absorbing interest and great usefulness.

May God send whom He shall choose to take part in this most joyous work.

ARTHUR LANKESTER.

## A NEW MISSION TO THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINALS.

ABOUT two-thirds of the way down the eastern shore of the Gulf of Carpentaria there is a small creek, not marked as yet on any published map of those regions, and very difficult to find from the sea. North and south the coast extends 130 miles one way, and 360 miles the other, in one long low monotonous line with no landmarks and no features, forming just a margin to that huge waste shallow puddle of sea water which is known as the Gulf of Carpentaria. Words can hardly describe the sense of remoteness from everywhere which this region suggests. There is no shipping in the gulf. There are no settlements on its shores. With the exception of the three Presbyterian mission stations there are no white men within hail of it. It is a black man's region. When you land a few naked, shock-headed aborigines emerge from the bush and look at you, and you feel and know that you have left civilisation behind.

But not Christianity. For the Trubanaman Creek is the spot chosen for the formation of a new Church Mission to the aborigines, and ten miles inland the station is already in existence, standing near the southern boundary of a 500 square mile reserve which the Government of Queensland have recently given for the use of the blacks under its influence. I have just returned from a visit to that mission, and the interest of it is so fresh in my mind that I believe that my English readers will be glad to hear what is being done.

Any mission to the Australian aborigines has an interest for those who know the history of Australia. A hundred years ago the vast continent belonged to them,

Then we came and without their leave began to take possession. The process of our occupation went on with no more injustice or cruelty than has been usual in such cases. Many of the pioneers—in Queensland—were humane, just, God-fearing men, and in a patriarchal sort of way they treated the blacks kindly. But no individual acts of kindness could mitigate the stern process of extermination which began with our arrival. We brought our vices with us. We may not have intended it, but among the first gifts which our civilisation brought to the nation we found here was the craving for drink and opium, and venereal disease. And pioneers and bushmen were not always humane. Ugly things have been done in the dark quarters of the continent, and reprisals from the blacks often led to worse crimes.

Even now, in the far north of Queensland, we hear stories of the shooting of blacks and of other wicked acts. It is well-nigh impossible to prove these things, but it is difficult not to believe some of them. Meanwhile, the blacks are steadily dying out before us. Pneumonia—due largely to the intermittent use of clothing—opium and venereal disease are doing their fell work, and soon—perhaps in fifty years—the black population of Australia will have disappeared.

A mission to the aborigines, then, must possess a deep though chastened interest to a Christian in Australia. A hundred years indeed have passed. Millionaires have made their fortunes. Governments and States have grown up, and Australia has entered upon the arena of the world's history. It is not much that after all these years we Christians have bethought ourselves of the people we have elbowed out. It is not much that half a dozen mission stations now exist in Queensland. But it is something. It means that a Christian people is awaking to its neglected duty, and intends now to lift up its hands for the remnant that is left.

The Mitchell River Mission—for so it is called—is the newest of the missions at work amongst the blacks. A year ago the site of the station was virgin bush. The naked savages who crowded round us a fortnight ago with explosions of laughter, whose shoulders we patted who

hilariously compared the baldness of our heads with their own, who parted from us with friendly yells of approval, regarded the white man twelve months since as their natural enemy, and were prepared to spear him whenever they could in safety. Indeed, they attempted to rush the camp of the missionaries upon their first arrival. But now all is changed. They trust us. They understand that the 500 miles of country reserved for them is their own ; and on their part they are prepared to stop spearing white men's cattle and behave themselves. How has the change been effected ? The Bishop of Carpentaria and the Rev. E. R. Gribble (whose splendid work at the Yarrabah Mission for the past twelve years marks him out as a high authority upon work among the aborigines) made a memorable expedition to this little-known region in June 1904, and again in July 1905. On this latter occasion they selected the site of the station, established relations with the neighbouring tribes, started the erection of a temporary mission house, and after a month's stay departed leaving three missionaries in charge. In response to Mr. Gribble's invitation a few men and lads were soon forthcoming—attracted, let us acknowledge, more by the regular rations than by any hunger after truth—and took up their abode on the station as catechumens. There are now twenty-nine of these, including two married women and two girls. These catechumens are under regular discipline ; they pass their days according to a fixed time-table, attend school, learn the elements of self-control, and apply themselves to the varied practical work which a new station demands. They have built, beside the mission house, a sleeping hut for themselves, a school, and two huts for the married couples, while a hospital at the time of my visit was nearing completion. This latter will be a valuable addition to the mission plant. For one of the interesting and hopeful phenomena of the work is the readiness with which the wild tribes have discovered the practical value of the mission, and the sick are constantly coming in for treatment, some from great distances. And the tribes themselves follow their sick. The Bishop computes that at least 700 blacks have visited the mission between July 1905 and July 1906. They recognise the kindly object of the missionaries ;

they speak well of them to others, and it seems that we may fairly claim that already the mission has established friendly and permanent relations with those whom it seeks to reach. Meanwhile the work of influence has begun. A few are learning to work and discipline themselves, and by degrees, through the discipline of work and contact with Christian character, they will be led on, we hope, to the need for higher things in their own life. Elementary education is going on. The adults, it is true, make but little progress, but the boys are quick—quicker to learn, the Bishop finds, than the South Sea Islanders, though less trustworthy. They know their alphabet and can spell a little. They have learnt to count up to seventy. And Christian education has begun too. There are daily prayers and Sunday services, at which a choir of boys take a leading part, clad in white loin-cloths "for glory and beauty" in contrast to the coloured loin-cloths which are required of all dwellers on the station. A good testimony to the effect of all this was given to me during my visit. A squatter from the nearest station—twelve miles off—came over to see the Bishop, and he frankly told us that the work of the mission during the year had led him to relinquish the prejudice with which he had witnessed its formation. "There has been no spearing of cattle," he said, "since you came. I must be frank; I think you are doing good." When a camp of wild blacks appears in the vicinity the missionaries go out and hold a service there. They do not expect any response, but it seems right that from the first the blacks should learn that we have something else in view besides providing them with a reserve, and with tobacco to smoke. These services are a weird experience. We walked out on Sunday night in procession—catechumens, missionaries, the Bishop, and I. As we drew near the camp fires we saw the dusky figures of our congregation crowding out to look at us, and dark objects here and there on the ground represented the more enterprising aspirants for front seats. We sang hymns by the light of a single hurricane lamp until the rising moon began to throw a dim unearthly light across the scene. The Bishop prayed in English, and I said a few words through an interpreter. After service the congregation rose up and

crowded round us. Much laughter, jabber, and hugging of the missionaries by the lads seemed to bespeak a spirit of peace and goodwill, and we moved away amid a hilarious mob of dancing and yelling friends.

The whole work is in its infancy. Here, if anywhere in the world, the Church is working upon virgin soil ; and I confess that my experience led me to dream dreams of boundless hope. In the first place, these missions are refuting in fact and experience the oft-repeated formula that it is impossible to raise the Australian aboriginal. The moral of Yarrabah, of Mapoon, of Mitchell River is that, given favourable circumstances (especially isolation from contact with the whites), the Queensland aboriginal is docile, law-abiding, and even quick to learn. Thirdly, we wonder whether, if their natural habits and characteristics are widely dealt with, and they are preserved from the contamination of the white man's drink and the white man's lust, the extermination of the race is after all so near. Mr. Hey, the experienced Moravian missionary in charge of the Presbyterian Mission at Mapoon, told me that the population of the blacks with whom he was in touch was at present increasing. It is certainly clear that northern Queensland needs population. It is equally clear that the tropical climate is very unsuitable for white men. It would be no small boon to the State if the missions could leave a legacy in years to come of a Christianised native population engaged in such pastoral or agricultural work as the circumstances of the country or their own capacity permits. But these are dreams. The essential point at present is that great reserves for the blacks should be kept inviolate from the white population. Civilised Australia should be content with the land it has already taken ; what remains at present as black man's country should be secured to them by law in the shape of reserves, and no temptation of fertility or mineral wealth should be allowed to influence the Government to curtail these reserves so long as there are blacks to inhabit them.

ST. CLAIR BRISBANE.

### ST. THOMAS AND HIS TOMB AT MYLAPORE.

IN the first century of the Christian era two empires, the Roman and the Parthian, divided the greater part of the civilised world, and two apostles divided the primacy of the Church. If St. Peter was the *summus pontifex* of the West, all the Churches of the East derived their descent directly or indirectly from St. Thomas. According to Origen St. Thomas was the Apostle of Parthia, and the apochryphal "Acts of Judas Thomas" mention his visit to Gondopernes, a contemporary Parthian prince, who ruled on the Indus, and whose coins and inscriptions have been recently discovered. The Church of Edessa prided itself on the possession of the apostle's relics, and boasted that it had been established by his follower Addai; while the Persian Church claimed exemption from the authority of the Katholikos at Seleucia on the ground that its foundation was the work of the apostle. India was associated with his name, occasionally in the third century, and universally in the fourth; and later ages mention in detail the Parthians, Medes, Persians, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, and perhaps the people of Merv, as witnesses of his labours. Babylonia alone, among all the satrapies of the Parthian empire, possessed a Christian Church independently of St. Thomas. The apostle of the Jewish Christians of Babylonia was St. Bartholomew and their rulers were the brethren of the Lord; but when these Jewish Christians died out or were absorbed, the Churches of the Pagan converts who succeeded them, ascribed their conversion to Mari, the companion and follower of Addai, and were thus brought within the cycle of the more famous apostle.

The primacy of St. Peter was based on the Gospel

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narrative and the words of Christ ; the primacy of St. Thomas—more in consonance with oriental thought—on his birthright. He was surnamed Didymus, or the twin, the twin of Christ ; and his legend, handed down to us in the “*Acts of Judas Thomas*,” a work popular throughout the Christian world, exalts this idea to the uttermost. His conception is ascribed to the Holy Spirit ; and his bodily resemblance to our Lord causes the spectators continually to confound them. A carpenter by trade, he not only makes yokes and ploughs, like Joseph in the apochryphal Gospels, but builds mansions in heaven, heals diseases, casts out devils, brings the dead to life, rides in triumph into the city on an ass ; finally, he is transfixed with a lance by a quaternion of soldiers. On the other hand, being an apostle, he is the voluntary slave of Christ, and literally sold by Him to Haban, the Indian prince’s merchant—the legend here, as elsewhere, translating pure allegory into the language of bare fact.

What amount of truth exactly may underlie the legend of St. Thomas’s apostolate it is impossible to say ; but that it contains a considerable amount of truth seems pretty certain. The Jews of Babylonia in the first century A.D. were perhaps as numerous as, and scarcely less important than, those of Palestine. They had large communities in Media and Elam, and were found in the Far East. It is evident from the language of Josephus, that they were well acquainted with Abhira, the country at the mouth of the Indus, which they identified with Ophir ; and the Jews of China trace their origin to an early Jewish colony in Afghanistan. That a Jewish apostle should make the tour of his countrymen is neither incredible nor impossible. And it is only on some such supposition that we can account for the early spread of Christianity throughout the Parthian empire. Bardaisan, the best-informed Oriental of his day—that is, of the end of the second and beginning of the third century A.D.—says that the Christians were very numerous, and he casually mentions the existence of Christian communities in Persia, Media, and Bactria. A century later, at the Council of Nicæa, one of the signatories signs himself “John, the Persian, Bishop of the Church in Persia and Great India,” presumably the great

country which stretched away eastwards beyond the limits of the Persian empire. Another century, and this great diocese had been divided into smaller ones ; in 424 A.D. a Bishop of Herat attended a synod at Seleucia. This wide and early spread of Christianity argues great missionary zeal at a very early period. To these general considerations we must add a grain of unsuspected historical fact preserved in the "Acts of St. Thomas" ; for the legend which connects St. Thomas with Gondophernes is curiously correct in several particulars. It gives the name of an obscure and forgotten princeling ; it makes him a contemporary of St. Thomas, and the ruler of a country which was for a short time only under Parthian rule ; and in each point it is perfectly right. Edessa, the centre of Mesopotamian Christianity, which boasted itself so greatly of possessing the relics of the apostle, would certainly have disputed the claim of the Persian Church to be the apostle's handiwork, had there not been some foundation for the statement. We have learnt of late that early and unvarying tradition, whether in matters ecclesiastical or secular, frequently embodies a considerable amount of truth ; and early and unvarying tradition vouches for the Parthian apostolate of St. Thomas.

The martyrdom of St. Thomas stands on quite a different footing. Here the tradition is neither early nor unvarying, but vague and contradictory. Heracleon, a Sicilian gnostic, who flourished about 170 A.D., says that St. Thomas ended his days in peace ; and Clement of Alexandria, who quotes the statement, does not deny it. Apart from the "Acts of Thomas," a gnostic work exceedingly difficult to date—which has come down to us in a much revised form—there is no mention of St. Thomas's martyrdom until the last half of the fourth century ; and by that time it was *de rigueur* that every apostle should have suffered martyrdom. Moreover the name of St. Thomas was now invariably connected with India ; for, although the Persian empire had receded from the Indus valley, the memory of the apostle's labours remained. Clearly, said the popular voice, the apostle must have suffered martyrdom, and India must have been the scene of his consummation. This, at any rate, was the belief of the Edessenes, who

declared that the apostle's bones had been secretly brought to their city—nobody could say exactly when or by whom. At length, in 394 A.D., the relics were transferred from their humble resting-place to the magnificent *martyrion* erected for their reception, and this *martyrion*, renowned throughout Asia and Europe for centuries, attracted pilgrims from far lands.

The tradition of Edessa left the scene of the apostle's death undefined ; it sufficed to say that he died in India. In the seventh century, or later, the name of an unknown Indian town, Calamina or Calamita, was added, and under this corrupt form some Prakrit or Tamil word may be disguised. At length, in the last decade of the thirteenth century, two Italians, Marco Polo, the greatest of mediæval travellers, and John of Monte Corvino, first Archbishop of Cambalec, almost simultaneously announced the discovery of the apostle's tomb. It was to be seen in a little town called Mylapore, a town difficult of access, and lying out of the way of all commercial routes, on the east coast of India.

Mylapore, which was refounded by the Portuguese in 1504, and called by them San Thomé, is now a suburb of Madras. At no great distance from it are two granite hills, the "great mount" projecting 220 feet, the "little mount" only 80 feet above the level plain. Local legends connect both with St. Thomas. The "great mount" was the scene of his martyrdom, and on the "little mount" his Oratory stood. Another table-topped hill on the Coromandel coast is also associated with his name. The great and little mounts, although now so close to the haunts of men, were lonely wooded hills, hard of approach, in a sparsely populated region. When first discovered by Europeans they were a place of pilgrimage and nothing more. On the "great mount" stood a church and a monastery, with lodging-houses for pilgrims ; the population was less than a thousand ; and Pagans and "Saracens" as well as Christians resorted to the shrine, as they still frequent the tomb of St. Francis Xavier at Goa. In the fifteenth century the country round was devastated with wars. Pilgrimages ceased, the place was abandoned, the buildings fell into ruins, and when the Portuguese arrived a native fakir was the sole occupant.

Mylapore (to call it by its native name of Peacock Town,) is far from all the haunts of the Syrian Christians ; no Christian community has ever resided in its neighbourhood, and the mass of the Syrian Christians are on the opposite coast of India. How came it, then, to be a sacred spot, and the centre of a Christian legend ? So great is the difficulty that Bishop Medlycott, the latest writer on the subject, boldly stands forth for the identification of the locality and the truth of the legendary martyrdom. But it is hard for anyone to believe that St. Thomas ever came to Mylapore. He was the apostle of Parthia, and every early indication points to the Indus valley as the scene of his Indian labours. The east coast of India was unknown to the Roman merchants of the first century ; neither Pliny nor the author of the " Periplus " knew anything of it ; and the earliest Roman coins found on the east coast of the Madras Presidency are of the second century.

There is nothing to show, nor is it likely, that the merchants from the Persian Gulf were better informed. Moreover, we naturally ask, what was there to attract them to a lonely spot fitter for hermits than for trade ? Such a place can scarcely have been selected by an apostle for the scene of his labours ; and the origin of the legend must be sought for elsewhere.

The shrine at Mylapore had been for many centuries in existence when it was visited by Marco Polo and the Archbishop of Cambalec. In the ruins of the church the Portuguese found a slab with a cross and a Pahlavi inscription (dating, according to Dr. Burnell, from the seventh or eighth century), carved in relief upon it ; the carving was the work of a native artist, and the stone had been brought from Sadras, a place forty miles distant. Notices of two early European visitors to the shrine have been preserved. St. Gregory of Tours, in a work written before 590 A.D., says that he had met with a certain Theodore, a visitor to the shrines of St. Thomas in India and in Edessa ; and each, he says, was distinguished by certain miraculous signs. His statement runs thus :

" In that place in India where the apostle's body first rested, there stands a monastery and a church of striking dimensions, studiously adorned and designed. In this temple God manifests

Himself by a mighty miracle. For a log of wood placed in it gives forth a brilliant light, and shines with perpetual splendour before the place of the apostle's sepulchre ; and that entirely by the command of the Divine Will and without any assistance from rushes or from oil. Wind does not extinguish the fire, nor any accident diminish it, nor is the log consumed at all by the conflagration ; but it is maintained by the virtue of the apostle, a miracle unintelligible to men and wholly due to the power of God. Theodore, who had visited the place, gave us an account of it."

So says Gregory, and then proceeds to treat of the miracle at Edessa which does not at present concern this history. The next recorded visitors are two Saxons, Sighelm and Aethelstan. They were sent, says the *Saxon Chronicle*, by King Alfred, in 883, in consequence of a vow, with alms to Rome "and also to India to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew." The statement is unconfirmed, and has been questioned ; but there is nothing incredible in it. On a previous occasion King Alfred sent an embassy to the Patriarch of Jerusalem ; and in the days of the Abbaside Caliphs the road from Jerusalem to India was as open for Christians as for others. Communities of Syrian Christians abounded at the head of the Persian Gulf, Socotra was more than half Christian, and there were several Christian churches on the west coast of India. Two large colonies of Christians, including Christians from Jerusalem and the head of the Persian Gulf, are said to have established themselves in India within the two preceding centuries ; and the contemporary narratives of two Mohammedan travellers show that the road to India was well known, and the journey, although tedious, not difficult.

King Alfred's embassy takes us back to the ninth century ; the Persian Cross, already mentioned, to the seventh or eighth, and Theodore's narrative to the sixth. Theodore's visit is not only the earliest, but in some respects the most important, for it enables us to fix the date of the rise of the legend ; and the mention of the miraculous log, as I shall presently show, makes it certain that the shrine he visited was Mylapore. Theodore probably visited the shrine in the last quarter of the sixth century. Fifty or sixty years before Theodore, Cosmas Indicopleustes, the Nestorian merchant and monk, had

sailed the Arabian sea and visited the west coast of India. He describes the churches which he found there as well as in Ceylon ; and, speaking of Ceylon, he says : " I know not whether there be any Christians in the parts beyond it." Had the shrine of St. Thomas been famous in 525 A.D. this ardent Christian and inquisitive merchant would certainly have heard of it. We, therefore, infer that the shrine was either not in existence or not famous until the sixth century was half over ; nor is it probable that the tomb was long discovered before its fame was noised abroad.

If the tomb was discovered in the sixth century, it is easy to guess who were the discoverers. The monks were the only permanent inhabitants of the place both in the days of Theodore and of Marco Polo ; and a monastery and church were the only buildings. From a very early date hermits and monks played a great part in the diffusion of Eastern Christianity, especially in the wilder districts. A couple of hermits, for instance, are said to have converted the inhabitants of all the mountainous region between Media and the Tigris valley. St. Jerome expressly mentions the monks of India as well as those of Persia. Now, both in the East and in the West, the discovery of wonder-working graves was almost entirely the work of these wandering ascetics, as it is the work of Hindu and Mohammedan fakirs in India at the present day ; and an African synod both described and censured the prevailing practice. The discovery of the tomb of St. Thomas on the summit of a wooded hill, far from the habitations of men, and from all other Christian communities, must certainly have been the work of some Christian hermit. When the fame of its miraculous powers was spread, a monastic establishment was sure to follow.

The legend itself suggests the reason for the selection of this particular spot. The ancient " Acts of Thomas " conclude with the story of a miraculous cure wrought by the dust of the apostle's tomb. Now Marco Polo says :

"The Christians who perform the pilgrimage collect earth from the spot where he (the apostle) was slain, which is of a red colour, and reverentially carry it away with them, often employing it after-

wards in the performance of miracles, and giving it, when diluted with water, to the sick, by which many disorders are cured."

Thus the miracle which the "Acts of Thomas" had related of King Mazdai, was constantly repeated at this shrine. The redness of the earth, which Marco Polo especially notes, gives the origin of the legend; for did not the earth itself bear witness that it had been stained by the apostle's blood? One early traveller expressly says that the apostle preached throughout the night, "while all his blessed blood was welling from his side." It stained the ground, it stained the cross (so an Italian traveller says); annually the cross sweated blood on the anniversary of the apostle's death. It would be easy to find other Indian parallels. I select two from the famous Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang who traversed India between 629 and 644 A.D.

The story of the Buddha giving his body to feed a hungry tigress and her seven starving cubs is one of the most famous of the Buddhist *Jataka*; it was represented in sculpture, and has been adopted, with modifications, by Hindus, Mohammedans, and Sikhs. Hiouen Thsang, describing the scene of this offering, says of it: "Originally the earth in this place was stained with the blood of Buddha, and even in his (Hiouen Thsang's) time it had a reddish tint, as well as all the trees and plants in its neighbourhood." The Buddhist story of Prince Sudana and the cruel Brahmin is almost equally famous. The Brahmin "beat the children until their blood ran to the ground. This blood dyed the spot, and the vegetation still retained a reddish hue." Where the devout Buddhist saw the traces of Buddha, the devout Christian hermit would see those of St. Thomas, and in both cases for precisely the same reason. The second wonder of the place was the miraculous log which burned before the tomb. It had disappeared by the thirteenth century, but the recollection of it lingered locally in an altered form. The local legend, according to Marignolli and others, was to this effect: A great tree which St. Thomas the Carpenter had felled on Adam's Mount in Ceylon, floated by his command to Mylapore, and lay at the mouth of the river, blocking up the haven. Neither

the king's horses, nor his three hundred elephants, nor all his men, could move the log ; whereupon St. Thomas, who required the wood for the building of his church, bound his own girdle about it, and ordered his two slaves to drag it out, and this they did with ease. The apostle's miraculous girdle is the girdle of the Blessed Virgin, which she gave him after her assumption, and which King Edward the Confessor presented to Westminster Abbey to be one of its chiefest treasures. Now the story of the girdle first appears in the Latin *Transitus Mariæ*, a work which is later than the Greek version of the *Dormitio Mariæ*, a fourth century work, and earlier than the time of Pope Gelasius, who mentions it. Whatever may be its exact date, it is considerably earlier than the discovery of St. Thomas's tomb.

Thus the cult of St. Thomas's tomb at Mylapore is a Christian example of a practice which has always prevailed, and still prevails undiminished, throughout India—the worship of nameless wonder-working tombs. A *Sunyasi*, a Ghazi, a saint—are they not all holy wonder-working men, claimed alike by worshippers of every creed? Marco Polo says that Pagans as well as Christians made pilgrimages to the tomb at Mylapore ; they called the saint *Avarian*, or holy man. According to other accounts, the church on the mount was full of idols, and St. Thomas was painted "riding on an ass, wearing a shirt, a stole, a mantle of peacocks' feathers, and attended by two great lions"—a representation which reminds one rather of a Hindu divinity than of a Christian saint. It was a semi-Pagan cult, and it would have disappeared altogether with the destruction of the church and monastery in the fifteenth century if the Portuguese had not heard the story and rebuilt the shrine. Western saints, in the centuries immediately succeeding Constantine, had frequent occasion to expose the claims of so-called martyrs' tombs to superstitious veneration, nor is it less the duty of the modern historian. He cannot claim the supernatural insight by which St. Martin discovered that the bones of a supposed martyr were those of a robber justly executed for his crimes ; he has to grope his way, and his materials are fragmentary and his analogies may be wrong. But historical evidence is merely a

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question of comparative probabilities, and all the probabilities point to the solution we have suggested. The greatest authorities have never implicitly accepted the legend of Mylapore, nor is it likely to find credence in this sceptical age. But it can at least boast of a respectable antiquity ; it has charmed many a devout fancy ; and it has found a warm defender in the pious and learned Bishop Medlycott, the latest, but also the most credulous, of its historians.

J. KENNEDY.

## THE RED INDIAN MISSIONS IN NORTH-WEST CANADA. THEIR FIRST HALF-CENTURY.

At a time when sympathy with the Church in Canada is being so widely and so justly felt, in view of the immense immigration into the vast plains forming some of the north-western dioceses, it may be interesting to trace the story, however briefly, of the Missions to the Red Indians who were formerly almost the only inhabitants of those immeasurable territories. In this article I do not touch upon the work done among the tribes of Eastern Canada, *i.e.* in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, nor upon the Missions beyond the Rocky Mountains in British Columbia. I confine myself to the enormous area stretching from Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay westward to the Rockies, and from the United States frontier northward to the Polar Sea —that is to say, the present ecclesiastical province of Rupert's Land.

This territory, now generally known as "the North-west," was given by Charles II. to Prince Rupert and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670, eighty years before Canada proper became a British possession through Wolfe's victory at Quebec. The access to it, in fact, was not through what was then called Canada at all, but by way of Hudson's Strait into Hudson's Bay, that vast sheet of water into which the whole of the British Isles could be dropped, and drowned. A ship sailed from England once a year in June, to York Factory, on the western shore of the bay, leaving again early in September before the ice closed the navigation. Gradually the Company established "factories" or trading-posts at different points on the great rivers, where the furs purchased from the wandering

Indians were stored until they could be shipped to this country. The employees were mostly Scotchmen, and naturally a half-breed population sprang up in course of years, to which population Frenchmen from Canada also contributed. By the rules of the Company, the "chief factor" at each post was to read the Church Service to their men on Sundays; but nothing seems to have been done for the Indians. These Indians belonged to two main races, the Algonquin and the Tinné, which comprised many tribes and languages, notably the Crees, the Ojibbeways or Sotos (sometimes spelt Chipeways and Saulteaux), the Chipewyans and the Blackfeet; while on the Arctic coasts were the Eskimo.

In 1811 the Earl of Selkirk established an agricultural settlement on the Red River, south of Lake Winnipeg. That settlement has grown into the great city of Winnipeg, which bids fair ere long to rival even Montreal and Toronto in population and importance. In 1820 one of the Hudson's Bay Company's officers, Mr. Pritchard, came over to England to try to get a clergyman to go and minister to the settlers; and the Company thereupon requested the Rev. John West, curate of White Roding, Essex, to go out there as chaplain. It is an interesting fact that nine of Mr. Pritchard's sons and grandsons and great-grandsons are clergymen to-day, and one of them is the present Archbishop of Rupert's Land. Before sailing, Mr. West, backed by Mr. Pritchard, approached the Church Missionary Society, asking for money to start schools for the Indian children; and a grant of £100 was made to him. On arriving at Red River, he wrote urging the establishment of a Mission; and his suggestion was adopted, £800 a year being voted, and one of the Society's students, David Jones, being sent out to join him in 1822. In that same year Sir John Franklin, just returned from one of his Arctic expeditions, went to the Society and urged the extension of the Mission all over the North-west, particularly pressing the claims of the Eskimo. But many years were passed before these extensions were undertaken.

In 1825, another C.M.S. student—a sturdy Northumbrian from Chillingham named Cockran—went out, the

Bishop of London giving him both deacon's and priest's orders before he sailed. He never returned to England, but laboured assiduously at Red River until he had accomplished what has been well called "a finished course of forty years," and died Archdeacon of Assiniboine. He founded what is still known as the Indian Settlement, a few miles down the river from Fort Garry, the Company's headquarters; but his work, and that of the comrades who joined him from time to time, was by no means confined to the Indians. They ministered regularly to the settlers and the Company's factors, and in fact laid the foundation of the Church of the Canadian North-west. Of these comrades the most important was Abraham Cowley, a *protégé* of the Rev. Lord Dynevors at Fairford in Gloucestershire. His was a "finished course of forty-six years," and he eventually died Archdeacon of Cumberland, and Prolocutor of the Lower House in the Synod of Rupert's Land.

Cowley's journey out in 1841 illustrates the difficulties of communication in those days. He was sent *via* Canada, and was ordained deacon *en route* by the Coadjutor Bishop of Montreal. But he could get no further. There proved to be no means of traversing the dismal plains and forests of Algoma, through which the luxurious Canadian Pacific express now speeds its way; and Cowley had actually to return to England, arriving just in time to sail again by the annual ship direct to Hudson's Bay. But three years later, that same Bishop, Dr. G. J. Mountain, managed the difficult land journey—or rather, river and lake journey, for it was all done in canoes, except when the travellers had to carry their canoes over the portages. The tortuous route, up one river, down another, and across Lakes Nipissing, Huron, Superior, Rainy, Woods, and Winnipeg, exceeded 2,000 miles. The Bishop was astonished at what he saw. He found hundreds of baptized Indians on Red River; and that two of them had been sent as evangelists to stations 500 and 700 miles away, where they were already gathering converts. He confirmed 846 candidates, white and coloured; gave Cowley priest's orders; delivered sixteen addresses in seventeen days; and then started on his long journey back to Canada.

The year in which Cowley went out, 1841, was the year

of the foundation of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund. There were then ten bishoprics abroad, viz., four in British North America, two in the West Indies, three in India, and one in Australia. A list of new ones required was made, New Zealand being the first, to which Selwyn was consecrated in that same year. But no one thought of the little Church in the Far West. Among the thirteen spheres contemplated it had no place. Nevertheless within eight years, that is in 1849, the see of Rupert's Land was founded, an endowment being partly provided by a bequest from Mr. Leith, a chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the Company adding a yearly grant of £300. On Whit Tuesday, May 29, 1849, Canterbury Cathedral witnessed the consecration of a bishop for the first time since the days of Queen Elizabeth. Of two bishops indeed, and both for the mission-field. One was to go to the Far East, and one to the Far West; one to the countless millions of China, and one to the scattered tribes of the Hudson's Bay territories. George Smith and David Anderson were consecrated together, the first Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, and the first Bishop of Rupert's Land. They met again eight years later on the platform of Exeter Hall, both being speakers at the C.M.S. anniversary in 1857. Nobody that day dreamed that within a few days an event would occur that would cause China and Rupert's Land to be almost forgotten, and concentrate all eyes upon India. The meeting was, as usual, on a Tuesday. The following Sunday will be for ever memorable for the outbreak of the great Indian Mutiny at Meerut.

Bishop Anderson, like the missionaries who had preceded him, went by the Company's annual ship to Hudson's Bay. He landed at York Factory on August 16, 1849. "It was a bright and beautiful day," he wrote. "Before landing, I asked the captain to allow us to sing the Doxology together; and he at once assembled all hands on deck, and we sang, under the open canopy of heaven, 'Praise God from whom all blessings flow,' after which I offered a few words of prayer, and pronounced the Blessing." While stopping a few days at York, the Bishop received an unlooked-for testimony to the character of the Indians

who had become Christians. Five or six men belonging to Sir J. Richardson's unsuccessful expedition in search of Sir John Franklin arrived in a boat, the crew of which consisted of fifteen baptized Indians. "The voluntary and explicit testimony of these men was that they had never seen a better behaved or happier boat's crew than were those Indians; they never omitted singing and prayer morning and evening, and they were examples of good moral conduct." The further journey from York Factory, by canoe up the Nelson River and across Lake Winnipeg, occupied a month, and on October 3 the Bishop reached the Indian Settlement, the first station reached by anyone ascending Red River from the north. There the Bishop was welcomed by Colonel Caldwell, the Governor of Rupert's Land, whose tall and stately figure and benevolent countenance were familiar, a quarter of a century later, in the Committee-room of the C.M.S.

On his first Sunday at Red River Bishop Anderson preached from 2 Cor. x. 14, "We are come as far as to you also in preaching the gospel of Christ," and administered the Holy Communion to 167 communicants. A few weeks later he consecrated a new church, St. Andrew's, which the people had built with their own hands. "Silver and gold," wrote Cockran, "they had none; but stones, lime, shingles, boards, timber, and labour, were cheerfully given. The shingle-makers gave 10,000 shingles each, the lime-burners each 400 bushels." Then a good English school was begun, which eventually became the nucleus of the present St. John's College, and of the University of Manitoba. And then the Bishop had the joy of ordaining the first Red Indian clergyman, Henry Budd, who had been taken up as a boy by the first chaplain, John West, and had since been the evangelist of the Devon Indians on the Saskatchewan River. Budd preached his first sermon on Christmas Day 1850, in the Cree language, on the words from the Benedictus, "The dayspring from on high hath visited us."

Bishop Anderson remained in his diocese sixteen years. He travelled much, in the summer by canoe on the rivers and lakes, and in the winter by carriole drawn by the dogs so famous in the Great Lone Land. The C.M.S. missionaries were by that time numerous, and their stations were

scattered over an immense area. One of these stations, at a place called by the Indians White Dog, had to receive the more prosaic name of Islington, owing to a curious circumstance. An old lady from Bath, Mrs. Landon, was staying at the C.M.S. College at Islington with the Principal, Mr. Childe, and while there she had the misfortune to fall downstairs. She was picked up by a Maori chief from New Zealand, a Christian, named Tamihana, who was studying in the college. Although hurt, and kept in bed for a fortnight, she recovered, and when she left she handed Mr. Childe a cheque for £1,000 as a thank-offering, which she desired might be applied to the establishment of a new station among the Red Indians, to be called Islington. London, New Zealand, and the Canadian North-West are in this incident seen in unusual combination.

The two most interesting extensions of the period were as follows. In 1850, a young schoolmaster at Exeter named John Horden, who had already been accepted by the Society, and was awaiting his location, was suddenly directed to sail within a month by the annual ship for Moose Factory, at the southernmost point of Hudson's Bay, *and to take a wife with him.* Fortunately the lady had not to be looked for! She, too, was ready; they were married at once, and sailed as directed. In the following year, Bishop Anderson made the journey of 800 miles eastward from Red River to Moose, and was so charmed with the work the young schoolmaster had done in eleven months, with his mental and spiritual qualifications and theological attainments, with his grip of the Cree language, and with his manifest hold upon the people, that he ordained him then and there, first deacon and then priest, without taking him back to Red River for further reading as he had intended. John Horden, like Cockran and Cowley, fulfilled "a finished course of forty years," and died first Bishop of Moosonee. When he passed away in 1893, Archbishop Benson wrote, "I have always regarded him as one of my heroes."

The other principal extension was northward. In 1858 Archdeacon Hunter accompanied one of the Company's "brigades," as they were called, to the far distant district of the great Mackenzie River. He just touched the Arctic

circle, 2,000 miles of travelling distance from Red River. Subsequently Mr. Kirkby and Mr. McDonald (the latter a half-breed native of the country) extended the work to every post in those remote latitudes, and baptized some hundreds of Indians.

In those distant regions much self-denying work has been also done by French Roman missionaries, mostly by the Oblates of St. Mary. In the Athabasca district the great majority of the Christian Indians are their adherents ; and many likewise in the Mackenzie and Yukon territories. The medals, pictures, amulets and small crucifixes which are widely distributed appeal to the simple people. One picture sent to England represented the Roman priests and monks ascending straight to Heaven, their faithful adherents passing through purgatory, and the Protestants falling down into hell. Another, much used, represented our Lord's Mother, and bore the following inscription :

Véritable portrait de la très Vierge Marie, mère de notre Seigneur Jésus Christ, d'après le portrait peint par St. Luc Evangéliste. Des grâces sans nombre sont attachées à cette image.

Linguistic work proved to be an important department of Red Indian Missions. The languages and dialects are numerous, and are not only of the agglutinative family, but of the polysyllabic branch of it ; and the immense length of the words, which sometimes contain within themselves several parts of speech, has made the task of reducing the languages to writing, constructing grammars, and translating the Scriptures &c., exceptionally difficult. Thus, "He made the water wine" becomes in Chippeway only one word, *Zháhwemendhboowetóopun*. Hunter and Henry Budd together translated large parts of the New Testament into Cree, and as much as possible of the services for Baptism, Confirmation, Holy Communion, Marriage, Churching, and Burial—services which proved of the greatest practical use in teaching the people the true meaning of the various rites. But at the outlying stations there was great difficulty in teaching the Indians to read, because they were generally wandering about at their hunting, and only came to the "fort" or "factory" to dispose

of the furs they had collected. They were wont, indeed, to stay there for two or three weeks when they came, and during that time the missionaries "kept school" morning, noon, and night; but of course the time was all too short for much progress, eager as the Indians were to learn. The difficulty, however, was partly surmounted in the Hudson's Bay district by the use, instead of the Roman alphabet, of a syllabic system which had been invented by a former Wesleyan missionary named Evans. So simple is this clever system that Indians were frequently found able to learn it in the course of a couple of visits to the station. The Scriptures and other books have been printed in this character; and it has since been used also for the Eskimo. At Red River, and further west, the Roman character has been retained.

Bishop Anderson came home and retired in 1865. In May of that year he preached the C.M.S. Anniversary Sermon at St. Bride's, and from the pulpit he read a letter from Fort Simpson on the Mackenzie River. The writer, Robert McDonald, said he was dying, alone: what would become of the work? "Shall no one," exclaimed the Bishop, "come forward to take up the standard of the Lord as it drops from his hands, and occupy the ground?" A young clergyman from Lincolnshire walked into the vestry after the service, and offered to go. This was William Carpenter Bompas. He started on June 30, and reached Fort Simpson on Christmas Eve, to find McDonald recovered. Another "finished course of forty years" was fulfilled, and on June 9 of this present year, 1905, Bishop Bompas passed to his rest—leaving Archdeacon McDonald still in the flesh, and only just retiring after fifty-four years in the ministry.

The vacant see of Rupert's Land was filled up by the appointment of the Rev. Robert Machray, Fellow of Sidney Sussex. Was there ever a happier selection for a colonial bishopric? Has there been any other bishop who in equal degree has devoted himself and all he had to the building up of the Church on firm and statesmanlike lines in a young colony? Justly did Machray eventually become the first Archbishop of the English Church beyond the Seas, and Prelate of the Order of St. Michael and

St. George. And he too fulfilled a course of little short of forty years.

When Bishop Machray went out in 1865 great changes were already commencing in hitherto isolated Rupert's Land. In the first place, the Canadians, tired of clearing the dense forests that backed the long line of civilisation on the St. Lawrence from Lake Erie to the Atlantic, turned their eyes enviously towards the open prairies of the Saskatchewan Plains, and were beginning to consider the possibility of making a road from Lake Superior to Red River, a distance of only 400 miles as the crow flies ; although Sir George Simpson, the Governor of Rupert's Land, who did not want the gate opened into the Hudson's Bay Company's sacred preserves, declared that the project was impossible "unless the Bank of England were expended." In the second place, the population of the United States was extending to their northern frontier, and Minnesota was receiving many settlers ; and some of these settlers, who wanted to reach the rumoured gold-fields of British Columbia, perceived that their easiest way was down the Red River (which rises in or close to Minnesota, and flows northward into Manitoba), and then westward across the Plains. Indeed, it was then supposed that if ever a railway was to stretch across the continent it would have to go across the Plains, because the routes within the United States territory were supposed to be impracticable. As we know, the American Pacific Railway was constructed long before the Canadian one ; but this was not foreseen forty years ago. Meanwhile, the isolation of Manitoba was broken into by American whisky-traders, who organised a regular service of huge wooden carts between the rising city of St. Paul, in Minnesota, and Fort Garry, the future Winnipeg, which brought the "fire-water" to the Indians on the British side, and wrought much havoc among them for a time.

Still, although these were signs of what was coming, the development of the country was yet slow. When Bishop Machray went out, there was "no one in the whole country following the business of a tailor, a shoemaker, or a watchmaker." All manufactured goods still came from England by the two annual ships to Hudson's Bay. But

the great political change now ensued. In 1867, Canada proper, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia were united under the name of the Dominion of Canada. In 1868, arrangements were made for the acquisition by the Dominion of all territorial rights in the North-west Territories from the Hudson's Bay Company, that Company remaining a trading association only. In 1869 the Red River Rebellion broke out, many of the Roman Catholic French half-breeds objecting to the new rule; and this led to the famous Red River Expedition which first made known the name of Garnet Wolseley. In 1870 the Red River district was formed into the Province of Manitoba, with the "city" of Winnipeg (pop. 300!), on the site of the old settlement under Lord Selkirk, as its capital. In 1871 British Columbia also became a province of the Dominion; and the Canadian Pacific Railway was projected, which it took fourteen years to complete.

The result to the Indians of the nearer districts was in many ways good. Lands were especially reserved for them; on these "reservations" liquor was prohibited, and there was now a market for the labour of those who were willing to work. Whether the benevolence of the Government towards them did not go too far, and encourage idleness and dependence, is a moot question. The Indians in the remoter parts were unaffected. Meanwhile, missionary work was extending among them in all directions, and several thousands were baptized. The S.P.G. was now also actively at work, chiefly on the great plains stretching westward from Red River, and primarily, but by no means exclusively, among the white immigrants then beginning to come in. It had commenced operations on a small scale as far back as 1850, when Bishop Anderson first went out; but under Bishop Machray it extended widely, and now for more than thirty years has taken a leading part in providing the ministrations of the Church, especially in the western districts.

In 1872 Bishop Machray appeared in England, and laid large and statesmanlike plans before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Societies. These involved the division of his huge diocese of Rupert's Land into four. It was just at that time that Captain Butler's picturesque

book *The Great Lone Land* appeared, and did much to promote a truer appreciation of the country. It described the distance from Red River to the further posts on the Mackenzie as equal to that "from London to Mecca"; and this helped Churchmen to understand that a visit by Bishop Machray to those remoter stations would involve an absence of two years from his headquarters at Winnipeg. There could be no better argument for the creation of new bishoprics. His plans were warmly approved. For two new dioceses, Moosonee and Athabasca, the C.M.S. undertook to provide the stipends; and Horden and Bompas became the first bishops. For the third, Saskatchewan, an endowment was raised, the S.P.G. giving £2,000 and the S.P.C.K. £1,750; and John McLean, Warden of St. John's College, Winnipeg, was appointed to the see. It is worth noting that the first of the three consecrations, that of John Horden, took place at Westminster Abbey just five days before the memorable first Day of Intercession for Foreign Missions (Dec. 20, 1872)—a great epoch indeed in the missionary history of the Church of England.

In 1875 the first Provincial Synod of the ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land was held at Winnipeg. Bishops Machray, Horden and McLean were present, but Bishop Bompas had already gone into that distant north from which he never returned during the next thirty years. There was a welcome visitor, however, in the person of Bishop Whipple, whose diocese of Minnesota lay just across the frontier. The Prolocutor of the Lower House, as before mentioned, was the veteran Archdeacon Cowley. A constitution for the Province was drawn up, which has been the basis of all subsequent developments. The four dioceses are now nine, having been sub-divided from time to time to make the additional dioceses of Qu'Appelle, Calgary, Mackenzie, Selkirk, and Keewatin. The S.P.G. helped largely in providing endowments for Qu'Appelle and Calgary.

This article, which only professes to summarise the history of half a century, ought to have stopped at the year 1872. The diocesan extension of that year was the climax of the half-century's work. But to show how recent is the public appreciation of the great field so successfully evan-

gelised, let a *Times* article of 1877 be just referred to. Lord Dufferin was then Governor-General of Canada, and at Winnipeg he delivered one of the most picturesque of his great speeches, describing an imaginary canoe voyage on the rivers and lakes. The *Times* (Nov. 28) credited him with "introducing a new world to the knowledge of his countrymen." "The succession of enormous distances and strange surprises," it went on, "reads more like a voyage to a newly-discovered satellite than one to a region hitherto regarded simply as the fag-end of America and a waste bit of the world"—"a mere wilderness of lakes and rivers, in which life would be intolerable and escape impossible." Lord Dufferin's "new world" was in fact the region in which, during the previous fifty years, Christian missionaries had lived and worked, with the result of bringing many thousands of the wandering aborigines into the Church of Christ.

In the last three or four years the expenditure of the C.M.S. in the Dominion has been reduced; yet, although the Society is regarded as "withdrawing," it is still spending over £16,000. But the evangelisation of the pagan Indians, for which the mission was undertaken, may fairly be regarded as accomplished; and the care of them ought properly now to fall to the Canadian Church, although for some years to come the C.M.S. will still have heavy liabilities in connection with it. Meanwhile, the immense immigration of white settlers to the plains of Manitoba and Saskatchewan constitutes an urgent claim upon the societies which seek their religious welfare, and above all upon the S.P.G.; and this claim the S.P.G. justly now passes on to the whole Church of England. It is earnestly to be hoped that the Venerable Society, and also the Colonial and Continental Church Society, and every other agency engaged in the work, may be abundantly helped in providing the ministrations of the Church for the rapidly-growing population.

EUGENE STOCK.

## SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

### A REPLY.

AN article under the above heading in the January number of EAST AND WEST concluded with four pages criticising the position and stability of the Grahamstown Training College, on the ground that ultimately it is more or less certain to lose its Government grants, and is therefore a bad investment for Church funds supplied from home. We all like to feel that we can depend upon the general accuracy of our EAST AND WEST ; and as the trend of the article in question is misleading, I venture, as one of those who are directly responsible for the Training College, and as one who is convinced that these gloomy prognostications for its future are groundless, to beg for an opportunity to make a brief reply.

"No one," argues the writer, "who looks at the facts will be able to convince himself that the present arrangement possesses the element of permanence." I think I may fairly claim to have looked at them, at least as long and as anxiously as any other ; and having successfully achieved the apparently impossible, and fully persuaded myself that long years hence this Training College will still remain one of the Church's most treasured possessions in South Africa, I feel constrained to give a reason for the faith which is in me.

The indictment, if I understand it rightly, falls under three main heads :

1. The commanding personality which called the College into being, only twelve years since, has now been withdrawn by death ; and it can hardly hope to prosper without her fostering care.

2. The atmosphere of the College is strongly "Anglican"; and it is merely a question of time before the "Free Churchmen" will rise in protest.
3. Whenever this happens, the Government of the day is pretty sure to yield; and then goodbye to all the money invested by a generation of earnest English Churchmen in this particular venture.

Let us take these objections in detail.

1. *Mother Cécile's "personal equation . . . persuasive powers . . . devoted labours . . . : but these factors are no longer to be reckoned with."*

What a strange argument for ceasing to support the great work which, in the providence of God, she was allowed to build up! A scant measure of generosity might well have compelled even the least sympathetic to rally round the Sisters who have now entered into her labours in their day of bereavement and trial; instead of which, within a year of her death, their overwhelming loss is urged as a reason for discontinuing the help already given! Let me state quite simply to what extent the work has been affected by her removal.

It is probably true to say that the Training College would not have come into existence apart from her, and we can never forget the immensity of the debt it owed her throughout its early years. But for some considerable time past it has gone forward with embarrassing rapidity by the force of its own inherent vitality, and the only wonder will be if anything should interfere to arrest its growth. For several years before she was taken from us, Mother Cécile's physical powers had been consciously failing; and she was wisely led to decentralise, and to place large measures of responsible authority in other competent and trusted hands. To all intents and purposes the work has been independent of her personal control for the last two years; and yet I make bold to say that it has never been so vigorous or full of promise as at this moment. Let me quote the words of the Superintendent-General, commenting on February 5, to the students on the results of the recent December examinations:

"Out of thirty-seven girls who went in for the third-year examination thirty-five passed, and ten of these in the first grade. Of

forty-four girls who went in for the second-year examination forty-two passed, eleven being in the first grade, and of the thirty-four who went in for the first-year examination thirty-four passed, there being no failures at all, while fourteen were in the first grade. I do not know whether you have seen the last published Education *Gazette*, but there you will find a comparison made between the results attained by the various training colleges in the third-year examination, and your college is singled out as having done the best. Yet your third year is not your best, because I find in your first year that not only did you pass all your pupils, but that you also secured ten places out of the first twenty-six places. All that is most creditable. It means, when all is summed up, that there were 115 students entered for examinations, and all passed except four. I think that would be very hard to beat—111 passes, and thirty-five in the first grade."

(N.B.—These numbers are for those examinations of which the results are now known ; fifty students in addition to the above were entered for examinations, but the lists are not yet published.)

With figures like these advertised by the press throughout the country it is scarcely matter for surprise that as many as 96 new girls have come this term, and that the students of the college now number 185.

Nor, again, is it true to ascribe the existence of the Training College in any primary sense to Dr. Muir's personal appreciation of the great gifts of our late mother. These undoubtedly played their proper part ; but his avowed reason for turning to her in the first instance was the hopeless inadequacy of the supply of trained teachers—a need which will still be with us for many a long year—and the backwardness of educational bodies in coming forward to supply it. Since then he has found that our Sisters do the work as efficiently—I believe it is true to say more efficiently—than any similar institution in the country ; and in this efficient meeting of a deep and wide-felt want lies one, and not the least, of our guarantees of permanence. Under our recent Education Act the newly-constituted School Boards are breaking fresh ground throughout the country, and the cry for certificated teachers is becoming universal ; while, in spite of straitened times, the new Act is causing heavy additional expenditure. Are these the circumstances—and their issues in time must be far-reach-

ing—under which any sane Government is likely to withdraw its support from an institution which is already turning out some fifty trained teachers yearly? To build up an undenominational training college to cover the same ground would be a lengthy process, and would involve a large capital expenditure, besides a considerably larger annual outlay. It is reasonable to suppose that any sensible head of the Department will thankfully use the valuable instrument lying ready to his hand, and spend any further money at his disposal in starting other institutions to serve other districts. To many of us it is well-nigh unthinkable, under the conditions which must obtain in this country far into the future, that Government aid should be withdrawn from our college so long as it continues to do its proper work as at present, and in a manner so highly satisfactory to the Department.

*2. But the "atmosphere" of the Training College is "Anglican," and it can only be a question of time before Free Churchmen will enter an effective protest.*

I must plead guilty to a lurking suspicion, inbred of fifteen years' rather intimate acquaintance with this country, of that phrase "Church atmosphere." There are, thank God, good Church schools throughout our land; but when, as sometimes happens, the phrase merely covers up the deficiencies of a school which is notoriously failing to turn out keen and convinced Churchmen, one cannot help wondering why the Church is facing sacrifices at all for so unproductive and immaterial a return. In the case of the Training College, any who have ever visited it will bear me out in saying that its "Church atmosphere" is a great reality. Year after year a number of well-instructed and devout young Churchwomen are faring forth from its walls and upholding the good name of our Church in every accessible corner of South Africa. But our ambition for them neither begins nor ends there. A primary need, perhaps the fundamental need, of this great waste land is the silent witness of faithful Christlike lives; and I have yet to learn that it is a work unworthy of the Church of Christ to shelter this large group of girls during those critical years—say from fifteen to eighteen—under the very shadow of a community of devoted women who are them-

selves living the life, to train them in habits of simple personal religion, and to teach them the satisfying happiness of hearts and lives given back to God. Of such a kind, we earnestly hope and believe, are the large proportion of the girls sent forth, year by year, from our Grahamstown Training College to the service of the State and its schools, and that is why the members of non-episcopal bodies have dealt so generously by the place hitherto. Many members of our non-Anglican bodies and girls of the Dutch Reformed Church, several of them the daughters of ministers, have been entrusted to our care. They receive religious instruction from their own ministers, attend their own places of worship on Sunday, and in all other ways enjoy true liberty of conscience. In evidence that the system works smoothly on the whole let me quote from a local paper (*the Journal, Grahamstown*) the proprietor of which is himself a leading Wesleyan and a member of the Cape Parliament :

“From what we have seen of the college we find but little trace of the religious difficulty. The system of allowing religious instruction to be given by the ministers of the respective churches to the children, as desired by their parents, seems to work well. The aim of the college is to impart a first-class training to teachers combined with religious instruction, which, the Mother Superior holds, cannot be sundered if this country is to produce citizens and teachers, not only of intellectual ability, but also of high character and purity.”

To my own way of thinking we might do many worse things out here than pave the way for a new and better order by granting similar “facilities for entry” to our non-episcopal brethren in all our Church schools. As things are at present, under the stress of keen competition there may well be a chronic temptation to water down the Church teaching so as to suit the least common denominator, whereas under the system long since adopted here at the Training College we have at least the satisfaction of knowing that all whose parents wish them to be taught the Church’s faith get it definite and unmutilated.

I have neither the wish nor intention to indulge in cheap prophecy. My object is rather to face unquestioned facts and to deal with them on their merits. Let us suppose,

then, for the sake of argument, that the worst has come to the worst ; that, in spite of present appearances, Free Churchmen have lodged their protest, and that our grants are endangered, after years of first-rate work of a kind sorely needed by the Department, simply because we happen to be a denominational institution.

3. The contention of the article in question is that, under such circumstances, (a) *The Government of the day is bound to yield to the pressure, and (b) that the large sums of money already expended in buildings at the Training College will then be lost to the Church, and pass into the hands of the State for purposes exactly the opposite of those for which they were intended.*

With regard to (a) the balance of probability is against the Government doing anything of the kind ; while as for (b) it would be hard to imagine a more complete misstatement of facts.

(a) The position of our Training College is not the isolated and abnormal thing in the existing State system which the writer of your article would have us suppose. For thirty years past the Normal College at Cape Town has been on a similar footing, under the auspices and control of the Dutch Reformed Church ; why in the world, then, have not these anxious critics of ours long since exposed its manifest unfairness to English and Free Churchmen alike ? Every native training college too, though under purely denominational control, is receiving help from Government, and yet I never remember hearing fears expressed for their future on the ground that Government is likely to play fast and loose with them in years to come.

If ever an attack is made upon us the Government will have to deal not only with our own divided forces, but with the unbroken strength of the powerful Dutch party, and meanwhile there is sufficient ground for hoping that by that time a denominational training college, conducted on the broad tolerant lines of our own, will have secured its recognised and abiding place within our Government school system.

As regards the treatment meted out to St. Andrew's College by the State authorities in 1903, a matter which

forms an essential part of the argument under review, I append the authoritative explanation given by a leading member of St. Andrew's College Council, in case there are any who suppose that St. Andrew's lost its college department and State aid on the ground of its "Anglican atmosphere."

"The establishment of Rhodes University College in 1903 had absolutely nothing to do with 'Church atmosphere.' The movement began in 1893, but unfortunately failed for lack of support, and, to a certain extent, because St. Andrew's College did not fall in with the scheme. The success of the venture in 1903 was in no way due to the State aid or support. It was due, in the first instance, to the magnificent response made by the people and schools of Grahamstown, and also to the fact that people had then fully realised the absolute necessity for the establishment of a college for higher education in the Eastern province, seeing that the Education Department refused to pay salaries of more than four professors at St. Andrew's College ; that they, whilst doing their uttermost, were simply unable to cope with the work required of them ; and that a great deal of sorely needed work was never even touched.

"The grant of £50,000 from the Rhodes Trustees followed the establishment of the Rhodes College, but had not been made at the time it came into existence."

As to the question why more professors were not given to St. Andrew's College, one has only to refer to the numbers in attendance for an answer. In the last quarter before the professors and students were transferred to the Rhodes College there were twelve students in Arts, twenty-three in the Survey Course, and three miscellaneous.

As an argument in the present discussion, then, the experience of St. Andrew's seems wholly inapplicable. The fancied analogy is no analogy at all. The claim of the Training College for continued support lies in its proved efficiency to compass the work entrusted to it, and to add something not specifically prescribed in Government Codes, but highly valued by Government authorities. I quote again from Dr. Muir's words to the students of this Training College.

"Pass your examinations by all means . . . but I trust also that you young ladies will bear in mind that the passing of these

examinations is not everything. And when you have schools, by all means get your scholars to pass their necessary examinations—that is very desirable—but you must do much more. We have found in actual practice in the Education Office that the girls trained here do bring something else into their classes besides mere book-work. There is such a thing as ‘tone’ in a school : getting the children to be true and earnest, and anxious to do what is right. Bear in mind the idea which the Foundress of this institution always set before her—the idea of working hard—but it was hard work for the good of others. I can never think of her without seeing before me her strenuous life. There are various forms of strenuousness, and hers was ever fraught with good for others. Let, then, her example be a guide to you.”

(b) Sufficient cause has, perhaps, been given for thinking that the withdrawal of State aid from our Training College is in the last degree improbable. But supposing that, in spite of all, the unexpected should happen, and our critics awake some day to find themselves justified? Then the Training College would still continue its work as at present, only without Government aid. Crippled for a time we should be, but we are far too sensible of the good thing entrusted to our care, and far too deeply conscious that a Purpose greater than our own is here working itself out, to think of turning back. With many thousands of pounds' worth of fine buildings, the inalienable property of the English Church, with an established reputation after so short a history, with a teaching staff of Sisters second to none, and a big and growing crowd of enthusiastic friends —girls, parents, and educational experts alike—we should be craven indeed to begin looking back. By our trust, the buildings of the community are all available for other than educational purposes ; and if ever the Sisters should fail to make full use of them, they revert not to the State, as the writer of your article suggests, but to the synod of the diocese of Grahamstown. I for one never expect to see a single building of our Training College put to any but its own proper uses ; and I should reserve my pity for the unfortunate rival training college, should some future turn of the wheel call it into existence.

DOUGLAS ELLISON.

## EDITORIAL NOTES.

*Introductions  
to  
our readers.*

*Sir Ernest Satow*, G.C.M.G., is a well-known authority on things Eastern. He entered the Japan consular service as far back as 1861. In 1885 he became Minister-Resident in Siam, and in 1895 returned to Tokyo. In 1900 he became British Minister at Pekin. His impressions concerning missionary work in the far east will be read with much interest.

*Bishop Gibson* has been for many years in South Africa, and was until lately coadjutor Bishop of Capetown, a position which he has resigned through ill-health. The problem which he discusses is one of the most difficult problems raised by missionary work in Africa.

The *Rev. B. H. Maclean* has for many years been doing good work in Southern India in connection with the United Free Church of Scotland Missionary Society.

*Dr. A. C. Lankester* has been for sixteen years a medical missionary in connection with the Church Missionary Society on the north-western frontier of India. We commend his article to medical students and to qualified English doctors who are in search of useful work, or who are in doubt as to their vocation.

*Mr. Eugene Stock*, until recently Editorial Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, needs no introduction to those who take interest in missionary work in any part of the world. We have been indebted to him on several occasions for articles which have appeared in our pages.

The *Rev. Douglas Ellison*, the Warden of St. Peter's Home, Grahamstown, will be known to many of our readers in connection with the Railway Mission in South Africa, the work of which he has done much to promote. His article should be read together with that on South African education which appeared in our last issue.

*Missionary work and public opinion.* H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF WALES has kindly promised to lay the foundation stone on April 27 of the new House which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts is erecting behind Westminster Abbey, at the corner of Wood Street and Tufton Street. No one can accuse the oldest of our existing missionary societies of undue haste in providing itself with a house of a size proportionate to the extent of its existing work. For more than two centuries it has lived in no house at all, or in a hired house, or at best in a house which it owned but which was disproportionately small for its work. Though the oldest of the English missionary societies, it has been the last to obtain for itself a suitable house in London. As we look at the large sets of offices in different parts of London which represent the work that is being done all over the world by different missionary societies, it is hard to realise that a generation has not passed since the *Times* newspaper published a leading article in which it questioned the existence of any results of missionary work anywhere, and in a tone of good-humoured contempt, said: 'Upon an occasion somebody can be produced who can tell of wonders done in some cities or regions of India a very long time since, with a careful reticence as to the last half- or quarter-century. An ordinary Englishman has seen almost every heathen or brute native of foreign climes, but few can say that they have seen a missionary or a Christian convert.' We are not in the confidence of the present Editor of the *Times*, but we feel sure that if our readers will examine any reference which may appear in its columns on Monday, April 29 to missionary work they will realise something of the change which has come over public opinion as represented by the daily press during the last thirty years.

*The scope of  
THE EAST AND  
THE WEST.*

WE print later on a letter from the Bishop of Lebombo, South Africa, pleading that no modification may be allowed of the original scope of THE EAST AND THE WEST. We have explained to him that in view of the fact that an article which appeared in a former issue (October 1903), the object of which was to show that missionaries had nothing to fear, but everything to gain, by

welcoming any assured results of the newer criticism, was misunderstood and caused serious distress to some of our readers, more harm than good might arise from the adoption at the present time of his first suggestion. We have, however, been able to assure him that we should welcome articles written by Nonconformist missionaries dealing with the organisation of missionary work and with the methods of teaching which they have been led to adopt. As the Bishop is himself one of the most advanced Churchmen in the Anglican Communion, we are specially glad to receive his support in the carrying out of this object. Our desire is to discuss problems which are raised by Mission work both in heathen countries and in the colonies, by whatever society or body of Christians the work is being carried on. The steadily increasing circulation of the Review in all parts of the English-speaking world encourages us to believe that the aim with which it was started has not been entirely unfulfilled.

WE are glad to be able to insert a further article on the Junior Clergy Missionary Associations, written as a reply to one which appeared in our October issue. The writer's claims to reply to Mr. Rogers's criticisms are based upon the fact that he was himself for some time a member of the executive council of the J.C.M.A., and that he is now engaged in actual Mission work abroad. As one or two of our correspondents have misunderstood the purport of the Editorial note which appeared in a former issue, we are glad to have the opportunity of saying that we entirely agree with Mr. Andrews that it would be most undesirable to raise the entrance subscription, still more to limit the J.C.M. Associations to those who are intending to go abroad. We had not ourselves understood Mr. Rogers to advocate this latter suggestion. We have always appreciated the quiet work of study, intercession, and teaching done by earnest members of the Associations whose sphere of work is at present in England. The J.C.M.A. have, in fact, done such good work in the cause of Missions that their leaders and representatives can be fully trusted to do all that is in their power to make these Associations what they were intended by their original constitution to become.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

### THE CHINA CENTENARY MISSIONARY CONFERENCE.

APRIL 25—MAY 7, 1907.

Dear Sir,—I made bold to offer to the readers of *THE EAST AND THE WEST*, in the October number, an appeal for a practical realisation of the Union of Christendom in China ; supposing, with shame and sorrow, that such an outward visible and real reunion is not possible in Western Christendom till our Lord Himself, by the brightness of His coming and the glorious constraint of His presence, makes it an eternal reality.

In the late spring of the present year an opportunity will be afforded to the Christian churches in China to exhibit or to discuss the possibility of exhibiting before the Church and the world that they constitute after all one Church : a microcosm of the Catholic Church ; that Christ in truth is not divided—one Body, one Church.

Is this a chimerical hope ? I feel sure, at any rate, that the readers of the *EAST AND THE WEST* will be glad to read a brief account of the proposed order and business of this Conference, and to sympathise with its objects, and to assist it with their prayers.

The centenary observance dates from the year 1807, when Robert Morrison was sent out to China under the London Missionary Society. The calm and exalted courage and faith of that man are worthy of commemoration to God's glory. After indefatigable toil at home in copying out a Chinese manuscript which had been deposited in the British Museum, he followed it up by going alone to China at a time when China was shut in from the Christian world as by brazen walls. But Morrison went to his work with serene hope and courage, and for thirty-one years he laboured, tolerated only as interpreter to the East India Company, with no facilities for public preaching or public worship, toiling at two great works, superseded now by revisions, new translations, and new compilations, but noble monuments of solitary faith and

zeal, and which were the foundations of more modern work, translatorial and scholastic.

We can never forget when commemorating the Centenary of Protestant Missions in China, that though this era may be called justly the missionary era as affecting China, yet the Church of Christ and the faith of Christians have not been entirely neglectful of this great land of Sinim.

The Nestorians arrived under Alopun in A.D. 635 from a Nestorian college in Persia. They brought with them the sacred books, "the ancient law as given by the twenty-six sages and the twenty-seven sacred books which remained when the Messiah ascended to His ancient dignity." These books were translated into Chinese in the Imperial Library. "The Scriptures were translated, the Churches were built," says the Nestorian Tablet, and Nestorian Christianity, which lived and flourished down to the thirteenth century and beyond, owed, no doubt, most of its life and success to these Sacred Books, although only in manuscript. Marco Polo, in 1278, speaks of the four Gospels as publicly honoured by Kublai Khan. The Franciscans arrived at the end of the thirteenth century under John de Monte Corvino, a missionary indeed, who translated into Mongolian at Cambalu, 1305, the New Testament and the Psalms. The Jesuits arrived under Matteo Ricci at the dawn of the seventeenth century, but Ricci was hindered from the task of translating the Scriptures by "the pressure of other matters." But from that time onward the Roman Catholic missionaries seem to have translated excerpts.

In 1636 Emanuel Diaz prepared a Commentary on the Holy Scriptures chosen in the Gospels for the Church Year, and in 1696 the Scriptures were reported as being translated in Peking.

But no version of the Bible in Chinese was ever printed and published by Christian Missions till Morrison came, although printing was known in China as early as the tenth century.

There is no Christian who would not delight to invite and welcome Roman Catholic missionaries to share in this missionary festival. Could the invitation be given? Would it in any way be accepted? The answer is, I fear, unhesitating no, and no again. Rome never changes. I have known China and worked here for nearly half a century, and came out with a high sense of almost envious awe and reverence for Roman Catholic devotion in penetrating to remotest fields and those deemed by Protestant Missions inaccessible. I was prepared to hope that, far from Rome's fountain-head of errors which have convulsed Christendom, her emissaries in China would be found to have dropped and forgotten the error and to be preaching the truth. This I still believe to be the case in some regions. But the bold and almost intensified protestations of error—for Roman Catholics are loud protestants—have made

us feel increasingly certain of the great gulf fixed between Rome and reformed Christianity. One point alone I mention with a comment of special significance. Is it Christian teaching that the Blessed Mother of the Lord is kinder than her Son, and that, therefore, prayer is made direct to her as the chief intercessor (this I have heard from the lips of a Chinese Roman Catholic)? Is it Christian that the shrine of the Lord in Roman Catholic churches is neglected, and the shrine of Mary crowded with worshippers and oppressed with candles and incense? Not one Faith, but trust in another as well as in Him. Not one Mediator, but two, and the Mother first.

All this is taught in China, and though there are other matters of faith and practice "wherin the Church of Rome hath erred," yet they may be condoned by many, and may, it is hoped, be modified. But Mariolatry makes a cleavage, gaping, impassable, between Rome and us.

I say this, for I am writing of the possible reunion of Christendom in the China which I love, and to show I trust that it is not a defect of charity, but a tenacity of loyalty to the one God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent that makes us say with tears, and yet with high resolve, no peace with Rome.

It will interest the readers of THE EAST AND THE WEST to know that, with the exception of the Roman Catholic Church and the Greek Church (working in Peking alone), representatives of all Missions will meet in Shanghai. The Chairman of the Executive Committee is Bishop Graves, the senior bishop in China of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America, and that Mission is very largely represented on the committee of management.

There are more than 3,000 missionaries in China at the present time, and it being impossible to accommodate and entertain such a number, even had it been advisable for all to come, elected delegates only will be present, but this means a body of more than 700 missionaries, English, American, German, and Scandinavian.

The Conference will last ten days, and besides special devotional meetings and services in the cathedral and churches, twelve main subjects of discussion will be brought forward, each subject being dealt with in a paper or speech from the chairman of each committee, he in his turn preparing a digest of the opinions of each member of his committee. This is meant to obviate endless and wandering debate. The subjects are as follows:—The Chinese Church; The Chinese Ministry; Evangelistic Work; Education; Women's Work; Christian Literature; Ancestral Worship; Medical Work; The Holy Scriptures; Comity and Federation; the Missionaries and Public Question; Memorials to be presented

to the Chinese Government, and to the Churches of the West, and to the Chinese Church.

The present writer cannot but feel intense and almost incredulous interest—it seems so beyond belief—in the picture which will be presented at this conference—the amazing growth in these hundred years, perhaps more wonderful than anything in Apostolic times, and the growth which he has seen since, in 1861, he first saw China. Full statistics will be published with care and elaboration immediately after the Conference.

In 1860 there were no inland Missions at all of non-Roman churches in China ; inland residence was forbidden, and inland travel dangerous. Now there are Missions in every one of the eighteen provinces, up to the very borders of Thibet and Burma ; far north in Manchuria, far south in Hainan.

Pray for us that the Conference may not result in mere discussion, in self-congratulation, but only and wholly and lastingly to the glory of our one Lord and the good of His Church.

ARTHUR E. MOULE,  
Archdeacon in Mid-China.

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#### THE SCOPE OF "THE EAST AND THE WEST"

Dear Sir,—I have only just discovered that an attempt is being made by some very good men, for whom I have the greatest respect, to make THE EAST AND THE WEST less useful to us missionaries.

We do not want a magazine which will only repeat what we can read in Butler, and Harold Browne, and such text-books. New theories are being advanced, and it is very important that we should know something about them. We have not the money to buy all the new books on such matters as the higher criticism, or to take in a large number of different magazines. We do not look upon THE EAST AND THE WEST as a book of which every word must be believed, and if possible taught to our people ; we have learnt much from it with which we have decided that we could not agree, and the thinking over the matter has enabled us to clear our formerly somewhat hazy ideas. The conclusion to which we have come on these matters may possibly be wrong, for we do not claim infallibility ourselves, any more than we are prepared to hold that it is to be found in the pages of THE EAST AND THE WEST ; but we feel that we are better men for having faced these questions, and thought them out to the best of our ability. I venture to hope that, so far from confining the Review to articles of unimpeachable orthodoxy, you will open it still more

widely to the expression of opinions with which you would not wish us to agree.

If I might venture to make a suggestion from the point of view of a working missionary, we should find very valuable a series of articles setting forward the position of some of the various denominations of Christians who are engaged in Mission work. It would do us good to hear or read the point of view taken by the Congregationalists, or the Dutch Reformed, or the Baptists, with regard to the organisation of native churches; or the position of the sacraments in the scheme of teaching. Of course, no one would suppose that we were all going to agree with everything put forward, or that we were going to teach our people these things, but it would help us to get clearer ideas. To my mind the same applies to these questions of higher criticism; we ought to know what is being said and thought, if only that we may be prepared to give an answer if our people ask us about these things.

I have myself been asked by African natives about various Bible difficulties. Some occur to them when reading the Bible themselves, some are suggested to them by sceptical white men.

I venture therefore to beg of you to put this other side of the matter before those who are responsible for THE EAST AND THE WEST, and if you modify it so as to exclude any unusual ideas, start another Review for the benefit of us missionaries.

W. EDMUND LEBOMBO.

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#### HINDUISM AND BHAKTI.

SIR,—The Rev. E. S. Oakley has done me the honour of referring to my article in the April number of THE EAST AND THE WEST. He is of the opinion that the idea of *bhakti* in India is not derived from Christianity. He moreover suggests that some people are of opinion that Indian missionaries are ignorant of what *bhakti* is. The latter is a statement for which I, for one, must disclaim all responsibility, but Mr. Oakley will, I am sure, pardon me for pointing out that the account which he gives of the ground principles of *bhakti* is far from being accurate. He seems to base his statements on Wilson's *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*. No one has a profounder regard for that great scholar than the present writer, but it should not be forgotten that his *sketch* was written nearly eighty years ago, and that his materials were scanty, written in a difficult language, and only available in manuscript. Since then the study of the Indian vernaculars has made great progress. Texts have been

printed and can be bought for a few annas in the bazaar of any large Indian city, and a very slight study of these ought to enable anyone to satisfy himself as to where Wilson was misled. Moreover, the great work of the founder of modern Vaishnava *bhakti*, Rāmānuja, was in his day practically unknown. Since then it has been translated by Dr. Thibaut for *The Sacred Books of the East*. Even if the inquirer cannot read Sanskrit and Hindi, or even if he feels himself too busy to read this translation, he can peruse Dr. Thibaut's luminous introduction, in which the main points of the Vaishnava doctrine are elucidated with a clearness and scientific accuracy that leaves nothing to be desired.

I must confess that Mr. Oakley has not convinced me that I am wrong in maintaining the Christian origin of *bhakti*. That, as he maintains, it is essentially the same as the Deism of the Persian Sufis may or may not be the fact, for it is well-known that much of this too was borrowed from Christianity; but that it is derived from Sufism cannot be the case unless it can be proved that Persia is a part of Southern India. The first teachers of Vaishnava *bhakti* belonged to the South. The founder, Rāmānuja was born and was educated within a few miles of the Shrine of St. Thomas near the present Madras, where a mixed worship was carried on, partly Christian and partly Hindu. Vaishnava *bhakti* was established for two centuries in Southern India before Rāmānanda (the teacher of the Kabir mentioned by Mr. Oakley) introduced it into northern India. And, *pace* Mr. Oakley, where the doctrine differs from that of Sanskrit orthodoxy, it agrees in its teaching (always, of course, excepting the acknowledgment of the person of our Master) with Christianity.

In dealing with what *bhakti* is it is only safe to quote the writings of the founders of the doctrine, or of their professed followers, not those of modern eclectic reformers, like Vivēkānanda (quoted by Mr. Oakley), who are no more authoritative as regards the teaching of men like Rāmānuja, Rāmānanda, Kabir, or Tulasī Dāsa than (to quote Mr. Oakley again) the teaching of Mrs. Eddy or of the *Christian Herald* is authoritative as regards Christianity. It would take up too much space to discuss all Mr. Oakley's statements regarding *bhakti* and to discuss them one by one—I regret that I can agree with few of them. I therefore take only one statement—the most important. He maintains that salvation by *bhakti* means that the worshipper is "finally absorbed into the essence of the god." On this he bases a great part of his argument. I admit that in a few insignificant sects there are traces of this belief, which has, of course, been borrowed from Vēdāntic Pantheism. But it is not the Vaishnava *bhakti* doctrine, and is, indeed, radically opposed to the teaching of its founder, Rāmānuja. Here is what Rāmānuja himself taught about it, as

explained by Dr. Thibaut.<sup>1</sup> "He who, assisted by the grace of the Lord, cognises—and meditates on—him in the way prescribed by the Upanishads reaches at his death final emancipation, *i.e.* he passes through the different stages of the path of the gods up to the world of Brahman, and there enjoys an everlasting blissful existence from which there is no return into the sphere of transmigration. The characteristics of the released soul are similar to those of Brahman . . . Rāmānuja's Brahman is essentially a personal God—the all-powerful and all-wise ruler of a real world permeated and animated by His Spirit . . . The individual soul is really individual ; it has indeed sprung from Brahman, and is never outside Brahman, but, nevertheless, it enjoys a separate personal existence, and will remain a personality for ever. The release from *samsāra* . . . only means the soul's passing from the troubles of earthly life into a kind of heaven or paradise where it will remain for ever in undisturbed personal bliss."

Where is there any talk of "absorption" here? Where is "the becoming part of a subordinate deity who is nearer to the great goal than the individual soul can be"? Where is "the separate drop falling into the river," and hoping "to be carried along with its mightier current into the Ocean of pure being or nothingness"?

If Mr. Oakley will read, say, the chapter on *mukti* in the *Bhaktamāla Kalpadruma*, a modern Hindi version of the famous *Bhaktamāla*, he will find much that is interesting, and will gain assurance that all this teaching of Rāmānuja is adopted in every *bhakti*-religion of importance.

The definition of *bhakti*, quoted from Wilson, as "implicit reliance on the power of the Deity worshipped," is not correct. The correct definition must be that given in the *Bhakti-Sūtras* of Śāṇḍilya. This is, I quote the original, *Sā parānuraktir Isvarē : tat-samsthasyāmrītavōpadēśat*—"In its highest form it is an affection fixed upon the Lord : from the promise of immortality to him who abides in Him." Incidentally, I may point out that the word *Isvara*, "Lord," employed to designate the *personal* Deity, is exactly equivalent in literal meaning to the Septuagint and New Testament *Kύριος*.

All this is radically different from the Vēdāntic Pantheism of Sankara which Mr. Oakley has described, and cannot be derived from it. It was, as a matter of history, a protest against that Pantheism, and, where it differs from it, it agrees with Christianity.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

<sup>1</sup> *Vēdāntasūtras*, I, xxix. ff.

## REVIEWS.

*The Life of Isabella Bird (Mrs. Bishop).* By A. M. Stoddart with Maps and illustrations. 416 pp. Published by Murray. Price 18s.

"My interest in all things is vivid to a degree." These words, uttered during the course of her long protracted and final illness, in part explain the response which Mrs. Bishop's books and speeches have never failed to elicit during a period of nearly fifty years. Her life affords an illustration of the truth of the saying that the best work in the world is done by invalids. Mrs. Bishop hardly ever knew what it was to feel well, and for nearly fifty years, during which all her travelling was done, she was a confirmed invalid. Her story may serve to encourage some who are tempted to imagine that the possession of robust or even of ordinary health is a necessary qualification for the accomplishment of arduous and useful work. For the student of Missions, the interest connected with Mrs. Bishop's books and speeches is greatly enhanced by the fact that in the course of her early travels she shared the prejudice against Missions which is common to so many travellers, and would even go out of her way in order to avoid coming into contact with them. It was, as she was never tired of telling to successive audiences, her observation of the spiritual, moral and social wants of the peoples amongst whom she travelled, which Buddhism and Mohammedanism had failed to supply, that forced her to study the attempts to alleviate these wants which were being made by Christian missionaries ; it was the study and observation of missionary work which induced her to become the enthusiastic supporter of Missions and to devote the latter part of her life to their advocacy. The following incident which occurred in the course of her visit to the upper reaches of the Yangtze River will help to explain the ground on which her advocacy of Missions was based.

"After going up the Yangtze, and travelling by land several hundred miles, I went beyond China proper into the country of the Man-tze. When I reached the mountains, there was a mountain pass, and a great storm came on. The torrent I had to pass was swollen and it was impossible to cross it. There was no inn in the village and it was very poor. My servant succeeded in getting shelter for me from the rain, which was falling in torrents, and I slept there in a shed for one night. He came back presently and said, 'There are Christians in this village, Mrs. Bishop.' You know how faithless and unbelieving one is ; and I said, 'Christians !

nonsense ! No Europeans have ever been here, far less missionaries. He looked rather sulky as he went out of the shed, but came back after a time and said, 'There are Christians here, and it is a Christian village ; and the head man and the elders are coming to see you presently.' And they came, and were very anxious to find out if I were a Christian. . . . However, I satisfied them by showing my Bible. My servant was a Christian too. And they stayed for an hour and a half : and the story that one of them told was among the most interesting I ever heard.

"The man was a carpenter ; he had worked for three months in Sze-Chuan in the house of a missionary, and had a copy of the Gospels given to him when he went away. He had also had a certain amount of instruction from the catechist who was with the missionary. After the instruction given him by the catechist, he went to his own home several hundred miles further west, and took the Gospels with him. He gathered the men together every evening, and read the Gospels aloud. There was a fulfilment of the promise 'The idols He shall utterly abolish,' for many of the idols of that village had been destroyed owing to the reading of the simple Word. There were only a few men in the whole village who were not in deed and truth Christians, and my servant, who was a very shrewd man, remarked how different that village was from others—that there was no attempt to cheat and take advantage ; and he said that he did not think he had been told one lie."

As an impartial critic of missionary methods her advice was constantly sought by the representatives of different missionary societies. One of these, Mrs. E. Bickersteth, writes to the editor of this book : "When we had the pleasure of welcoming Mrs. Bishop to our S.P.G. Women's Committee as a vice-president, it interested me much to see the way in which she turned to uses of practical help and counsel the knowledge she had gained in her many years of travel. When in London she was a constant attendant at our meetings, and she took special delight in those of our Candidates' committee, where her insight into character and ready sympathy gave her special power. More than one candidate has been surprised to learn that the gentle quiet voice which gave her homely hints as to care of health, or sympathetic encouragement in her shyness, was that of the great traveller and distinguished authoress." Her intimate knowledge of China and the Chinese character gave her the right to express an opinion on the much debated question whether unmarried English ladies ought to be sent as missionaries to the interior of China. She "did not agree with the critics of the treaty ports who think it unwise for English women to live at remote stations where there are no English men. On the contrary, she thought that two women, not under thirty years of age, who had experience of Chinese customs and language, might wisely

and safely occupy a station where there were no other Europeans, provided that they always had with them a senior Chinese woman." On the other hand, she spoke most strongly of the unwisdom of supporting missionaries in the interior of China whose large families rendered it impossible for them to devote more than a small portion of their time to the study of the language or the prosecution of missionary work. There are many other questions relating to missionary work, and to women's work in particular, on which the opinions which Mrs. Bishop had formed will be of interest to missionary students. We can recommend the volume both to those who are already familiar with her books and to those to whom they are as yet unknown.

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*Eastern Missions from a Soldier's Standpoint.* By Colonel G. K. Scott Moncrieff, C.I.E. Published by the Religious Tract Society. 181 pp. Price 2s.

THE writer is a soldier who has seen service in Afghanistan and India, and was in command of the Engineers at the relief of the Pekin Legations in 1900. The opinions which the writer expresses on the missionary work which is being done in India and China deserve attention, as he has taken great pains to gather his information directly from the natives themselves. He speaks in the warmest terms of the missionaries and the Chinese Christians with whom he came into contact in Pekin. Speaking as a soldier, he says that without the help of the native Christians the Legations could not have been held. "The native Christians had been rescued during the last few days that preceded the siege by the heroic exertions of English and Americans. Some indeed suffered death by torture, not accepting deliverance. Most, if not all, could have purchased life by recanting . . . Those who think that the conversion of the Chinese to Christianity is entirely governed by interested motives will please remember that these men who fought and worked so well in defence of the foreign Legations might have saved themselves all the trouble by burning a little incense before an idol." The book ends with an urgent appeal for additional support for the Missions in the Far East.

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*The Jews in India and the Far East.* By the Rev. J. Henry Lord, Missionary in Bombay, 1882-1907. 120 pp. and appendices. Published in Bombay. Price 1 rupce. Obtainable from the A.C.S. Office, 39 Victoria Street, Westminster.

To those who are interested in the Jewish race and their dispersion throughout the world, the results of historical research and local investigation concerning the history and customs of the

communities of Jewish origin in India briefly recorded in this booklet will prove both interesting and valuable. Some of the Jewish communities now found in India have been there from the time of the Christian era. Many of the customs which are still preserved by them have long since disappeared amongst the Jews who are settled in Europe. The use of incense, the observance of the Nazirite's vow, the cup of blessing, and the kiss of peace are still found. This last custom is also found among the Syrian Christians of Malabar and amongst the Assyrian Christians. There is a community of black Jews in Malabar who are apparently the descendants of Jews who had married natives of India. Such a marriage would not have been a violation of ancient Jewish law. The writer gives in an appendix a glossary of the principal books which have been published dealing with the Jews of India, which will be helpful to anyone who desires to study the subject for himself.

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*Miftahul Quran.* Part I. *Concordance of the Quran.* By Rev. Ahmad Shah. Printed by Lazarus & Co., Benares. Price twelve rupees. Part II. *A Complete Glossary of the Quran.* Price eight rupees.

THIS work should be of great use to all missionaries to Mohammedans. The contents of the Koran are so entirely lacking in any kind of order that it is most difficult to find a passage with which one is familiar, and the reference to which one has lost. Flugel's concordance, which has so far been the only one available, presupposes an accurate knowledge of Arabic, as all derivatives are classified under the roots from which they are derived. We trust that the publication of these volumes may encourage Christian missionaries working amongst Mohammedans to attempt a more careful study of the Koran than has often been considered necessary.

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*Four Years in Tibet.* By Rev. Ahmad Shah. Published by Lazarus & Co. Benares. Price three rupees.

THE writer travelled in Tibet between 1894 and 1897. The book contains a good deal of curious information relating to the customs of the Tibetans.

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*Caste or Christ:* Sketches of Indian Life. By J. Z. Hodge and G. E. Hicks. 127 pp. Published by Morgan & Scott. Price 1s. 6d.

THESE sketches, which are attractively illustrated, deal with work which is being carried on in Behar by missionaries sent out by Dr. Guinness.

*The Quran in Islam*, an enquiry into the integrity of the Quran by the Rev. W. Goldsack. Published by the Christian Literature Society. Price 1 anna.

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*The Doctrine of Salvation as set forth in Christianity, Hinduism, and Islam*. By the Rev. W. Hooper. 138 pp. Published by the Christian Literature Society, London and Madras. Price 6d.

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*Training in Kashmir*. An illustrated description of the C.M.S. Boys' High School conducted by the Rev. C. Tyndale Biscoe. Published by the C.M.S. Price 1s.

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*The Story of the Central Asian Pioneer Mission*. With a Preface by the Rev. F. B. Meyer. 45 pp. Published by Morgan & Scott. Price 1s.

AN account of an attempt which is being made to establish a mission at Hoti Mardan, on the borders of India and Kafiristan. The mission is not connected with any existing missionary society.

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*Amitabha, a story of Buddhist theology*, by Dr. Paul Carus. 121 pp. Price 2s. 6d. Published by Kegan Paul.

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*The Moslem Peril*. By W. R. Jones. With Introductory Note by Bishop Stuart, now resident in Persia. Pp. 16. Price 3d.

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*The Church Quarterly Review* for January contains an article entitled "The Real Yellow Peril." The writer, who has had long personal experience in China, argues that the Yellow Peril is by no means imaginary—as far, at any rate, as Russia is concerned—but that the real Yellow Peril is not China, but heathen China. The policy of those who desire to promote the interests of the Chinese, and good feeling between them and European races, should be "so to increase their efforts on wiser lines, with larger plans, that through them there may arise that national Church of China which shall be, in God's good providence, the means of averting for ever the real Yellow Peril."

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*A Modern Pentecost: being the story of the Revival among the Aborigines of South-west China*. 42 pp. Published by the China Inland Mission. Price 3d.

*The Pacific Islanders : from Savages to Saints.* Edited by D. C. Pierson. Published by Funk & Wagnalls. London. 352 pp. Price 1 dollar.

THIS consists of seventeen brightly-written and well-illustrated sketches, chiefly contributed by American writers, descriptive of missionary work carried on during the last half-century in the Pacific Islands and in New Guinea, the Philippines, and Australia. Several of the articles would do well for reading aloud at missionary working parties. The progress which has been made in developing interest in foreign missions during the last century is illustrated by a quotation which is given from Captain Cook's journals. In 1777 he wrote in reference to a proposal to start missionary work in the Pacific Islands: "It is very unlikely that any measure of this kind should ever be seriously thought of, as it can neither serve the purpose of public ambition nor private avarice, and without such inducements I may pronounce that it will never be undertaken." The writer, who deals with missionary work amongst the Australian aborigines, has apparently never heard of the various missions to the aborigines, carried on by the Anglican Church in Australia, such as that described in our present issue by the Archbishop of Brisbane.

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*A Question of Colour : a Study of South Africa.* 328 pp. Published by W. Blackwood.

THIS book is founded on the recently issued Government Blue Book relating to native affairs in South Africa, and should serve to make the contents of this important Blue Book more widely known. It discusses in an interesting way many of the problems raised by the report. We can commend the book to those who desire a simple exposition of the difficulties which confront Government officials and missionaries alike in South Africa. The writer, who is in no way connected with missionary work, bears strong testimony to the good work which is being done by missions.

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*Second Report of the Wellcome Research Laboratories at the Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum.* 255 pp. Issued by the Department of Education, Sudan Government.

THE primary object for which these research laboratories have been established is "to promote the study, bacteriologically and physiologically, of tropical disorders, especially the infective diseases of both man and beast peculiar to the Sudan, and to render assistance to the officers of health, and to the clinics of the civil and military hospitals." The present volume contains the record of a

large number of investigations which have been carried on during the past two years of diseases caused by mosquitoes and the tsetse and other flies. To the technical and medical student the book should be of considerable value.

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*The Congo Independent State*: a report on a voyage of enquiry.

By Viscount Mountmorres. 166 pp. Published by Williams & Norgate. Price 6s. net.

THIS book, which is well illustrated, contains a large amount of information in regard to the different tribes inhabiting the Congo State, besides a good deal of intelligent criticism on the Congo State Government. The writer distinguishes between "the concession districts and the districts governed directly by the Congo Government officials." Of the former he says "no words can convey an adequate impression of the terrible and callous inhumanity which marks the methods of the territorial companies, nor of the abject misery and hopelessness of the native population." Of the Congo Government he speaks in much more favourable terms.

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*Camp Firelight: or Memories of Flood and Forest*. Poems by Wm. Ridley, first Bishop of Caledonia. 116 pp. Published by Seeley.

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*Readings from Law's "Serious Call."* With an introduction by the Bishop of London. 112 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 1s. 6d. in cloth, 1s. in paper.

WE cordially welcome the publication of this book in a form which should secure for it the circulation which it deserves and which it had before it was ousted by ephemeral rivals. "There is no doubt," says the Bishop of London, "that Law's *Serious Call* is one of the books of the world which will live. The first characteristic which marks it off from many other good books is that it is so extremely entertaining. The belief is graven into the minds of most people, as it was in the mind of Dr. Johnson, that a good book may be very improving, but is sure to be rather dull. It is only a dull mind that will find Law dull."

*The Fifth Gospel*: being the Pauline interpretation of the Christ. By the Author of *The Faith of a Christian*. 223 pp. Published by Macmillan.

*Pan-Anglican Papers*, being problems for consideration at the Pan-Anglican Congress in 1908. 1. "The Church and Human Society," by the Rev. T. C. Fry and the Rev. E. J. Palmer. 2. "The Church and Human Thought in the Present Day," by the Rev. J. R. Illingworth. 3. "The Church's Ministry," by Archdeacon Burrows. 4. "The Church's Work among non-Christian Peoples," by Eugene Stock. 5. "The Church's Mission in Christendom," by Bishop Montgomery. These papers are published by the S.P.C.K.

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*Judaism and Christianity, Short Studies : 5. Religion a permanent Need of Human Nature.* By the Rev. W. O. Oesterley. Published by Longmans. Price 3d.

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*The Sanctuary of Suffering.* By Eleanor Tee. New Edition. 219 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 3s. 6d. net.

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*The Atonement.* By the Rev. Leighton Pullan. 257 pp.

*Sin.* By the Rev. H. V. S. Eck, Rector of Bethnal Green. 241 pp.

THESE are two additional volumes in the series entitled "Oxford Library of Practical Devotion," published by Longmans. Price 5s. each.

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*The Church and the Saints.* Sermons by the Rev. W. B. Hankey. 193 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 3s. 6d. net.

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*The Indian Interpreter*, a religious and ethical Quarterly. Published by the Scottish Mission, Poona. 48 pp. Price in Great Britain, 1s. 4d.

WE have received a specimen number of this review, which is well written, and will, we trust, obtain a large circulation amongst Indian Christians.

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*The Truth of Christianity.* Being an examination of the more important arguments for and against believing in that religion. Compiled by Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Turton. Sixth edition. Published by Wells Gardner.

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*Henry Reed.* By his Widow. With a Preface by "General" Booth. 249 pp. Published by Morgan & Scott. Price 2s. 6d.

*Modern London: its Sins and Woes, and the Sovereign Remedy.*  
By James Dunn. 186 pp. Published by the London City Mission.

MR. DUNN has been working for fifty years amongst the poor in London, during the latter part of which time he has been connected with the London City Mission.

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*The Self-interpretation of Jesus Christ:* a study of the Messianic consciousness as reflected in the Synoptics. 211 pp. Published by Hodder & Stoughton. Price 5s.

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*Public Worship in the Book of Common Prayer.* By the Rev. C. R. D. Biggs. 202 pp. Published by Longmans. Price 2s. 6d.

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*The Church and the Ordination Question:* a discussion of certain fresh points, especially as to the selection of candidates and the methods of clerical education. By the Rev. Herbert Kelly, Director of the Society of the Sacred Mission. 32 pp. Issued at the S.S.M. Press, Kelham. Price 3d.

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*Ripon Diocesan Church Calendar.* Published by Jackson, Leeds. Price 1s.

WE are glad to see the prominence given in the Calendar to the "missionary clergy on foreign or colonial service" who formerly served in the diocese and are regarded as still members of its staff. The Calendar contains a good coloured map of the diocese.

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We have received the following from the S.P.C.K.:—*Dutch Handbook for Communicants*, 4d.; *Gang First Catechism*, 1d.; *Kaffir Prayer Book*, new edition, 1s. 4d.; *Luganda Old Testament History*, 1s.; *Luganda Old Testament History* (Pentateuch portion), 4d.; *Xosa Communion Book*, new edition, 8d.; *Zigula Exercises*, 1s. 4d.; *Zigula Dictionary*, 2s.

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N.B.—Bound volumes of THE EAST AND THE WEST, 1903-6, with indices and tables of contents, price 4s. 6d., post free 4s. 11d.

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